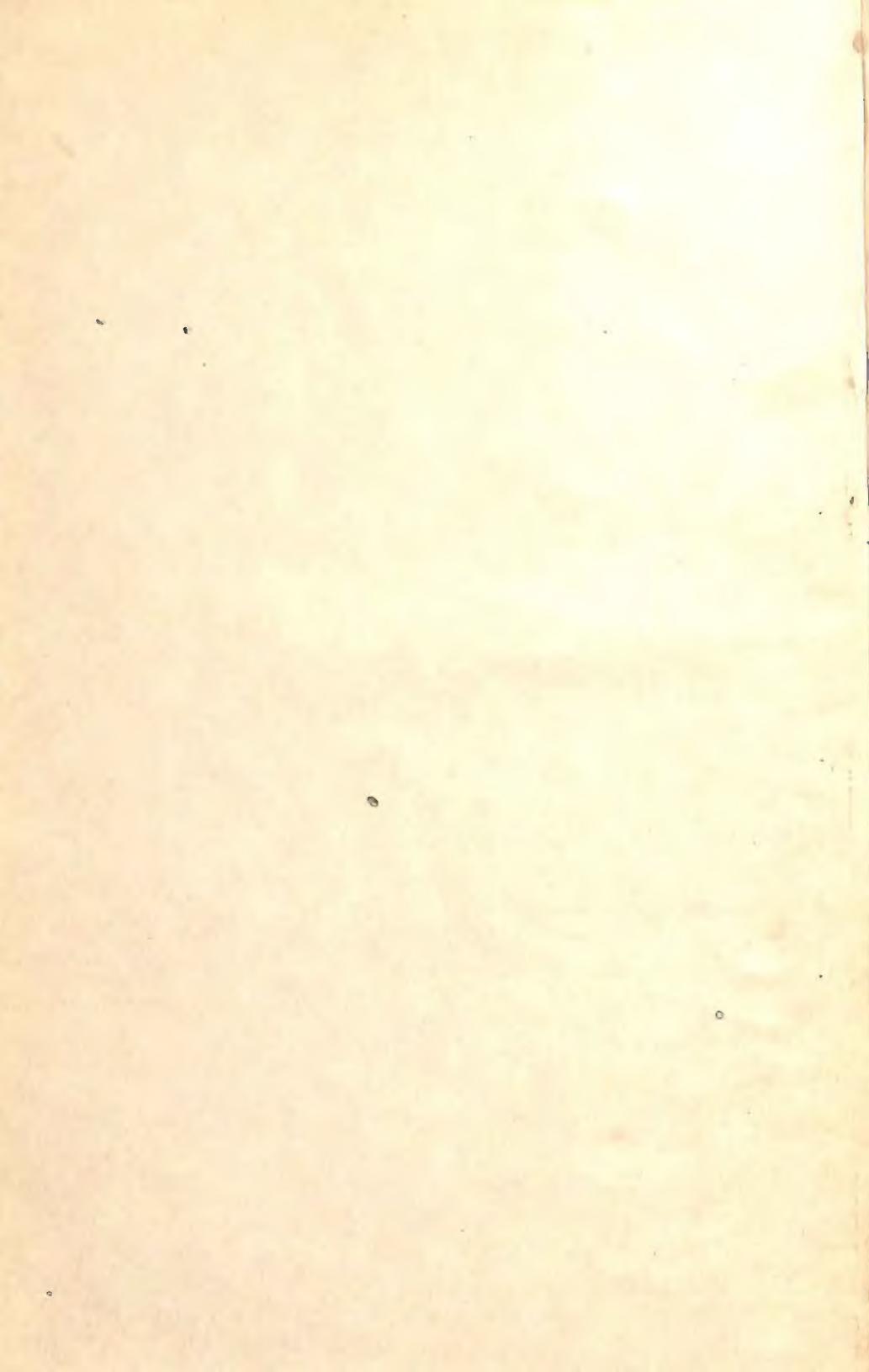


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THE WORLD OF WORK

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THE WORLD OF WORK

[BASIC CONSIDERATIONS IN
GUIDANCE & COUNSELLING
IN INDIA]

J. L. PANDIT,
M.A., ED.M., ED.D. (HARVARD)



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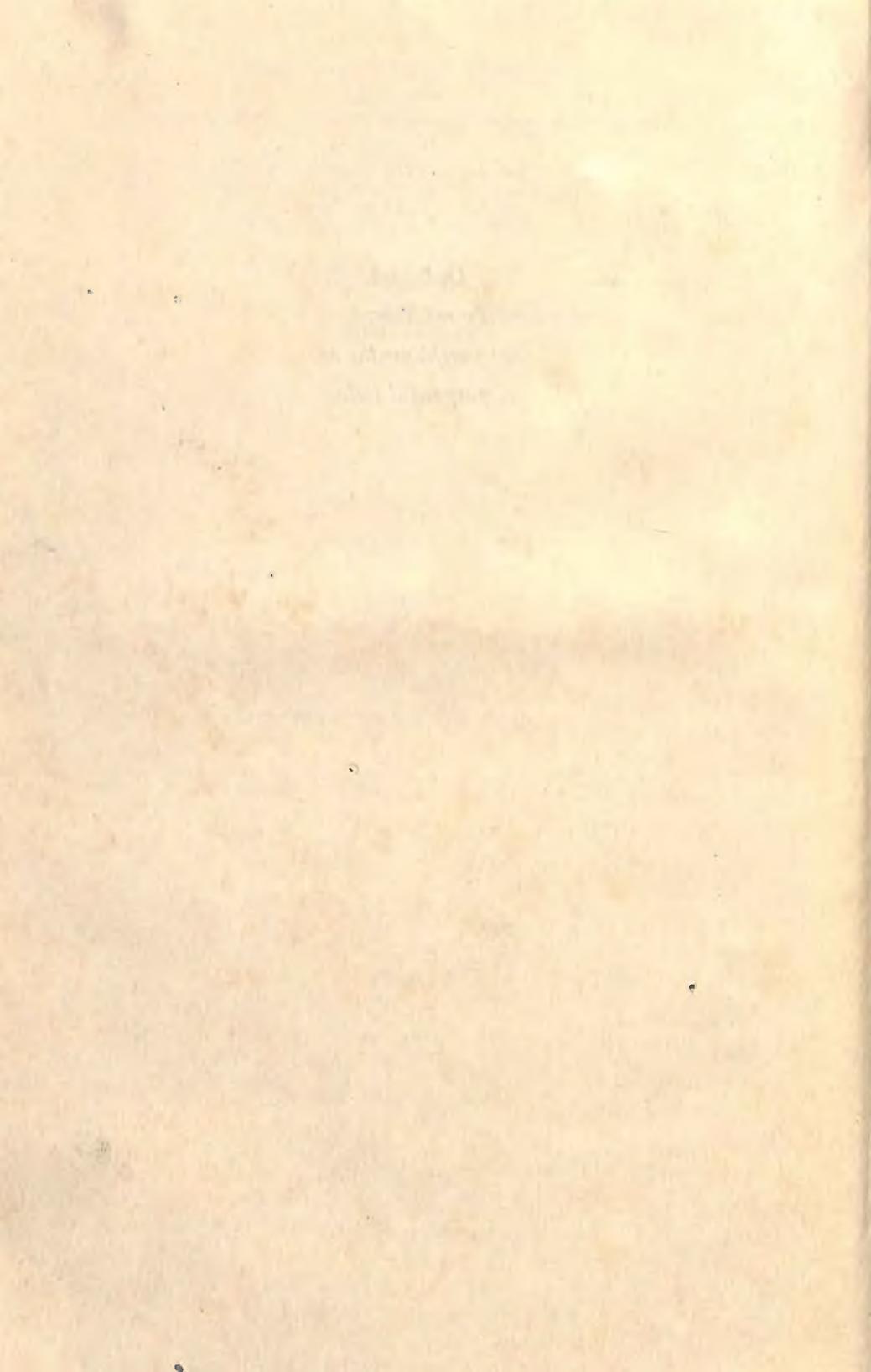
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*Dedicated
To my Parents
who taught me the art
of purposeful living*



Preface

THIS book deals with the problems of work, workers, work-related needs and inter-personal relationships. Some of these problems are basic to our culture, while some have risen on account of the technological developments which have been influencing the Indian society. And yet there are other problems which have surged up because of the unchecked growth of population. The boys and girls thus growing up amidst the present-day cultural matrix come to develop problems unique to themselves. This book, therefore, is a plea that the growing generation should be properly understood, guided and counselled towards maturity.

Guidance and counselling are adult functions, and are new concepts in the field of Psychology. They are still in their formative stage in terms of both definition and technique. This book in that respect is a further attempt at refining these concepts and applying them to our cultural milieu in assisting individuals in schools, colleges and universities in developing their abilities which are in demand by our society. This function has to be performed by the professionally trained Guidance Counsellors. Their role consequently has received the necessary attention in this book.

And yet, the most important purpose of this book is to take a straight look at our current social, economic and political realities in order to develop a philosophy which is to guide those who have the sacred task of guiding the young and the confused. If this book can stimulate new thinking among the psychologists to recognize the inadequacy and crudeness of the available tests and testing techniques and instead concentrate on

counselling in helping the individuals in developing their life's goals, assist teachers in encouraging the growth element in their students, make administrators aware of the possibility of the release of new forces in the workers and the parents of the formative influence of the family and school in modelling their children's occupational preferences and decisions, the work would have justified its purpose. But if it fails to shake the counsellors, who have the supreme task of guiding and counselling the young, out of their resolve of being passive onlookers of the national scene instead of becoming active instruments of social change, the choice will be entirely theirs.

I found myself extremely handicapped in the absence of Indian research relevant to my task of writing this book. I had perforce to draw on the combined researches of the American psychologists, sociologists and economists, who in recent years have built up an imposing library of data and opinion on the nature of work, career patterns and the techniques of guidance and counselling, to fill this hiatus. Integrated in this book is also the information available in the Government of India and I.L.O. publications, Indian and American psychological journals, pamphlets of the Indian university bureaus of psychological research, and the work of the Indian authors, who are few in number, and have, like me, ploughed their lonely furrows. Nevertheless, the single most important source of information has been the *Statesman*, which has tacitly accepted serving the clearing-house function of information of scientific, economic and social consequence. The result of the integration of all these sources of information has been the Assumptions which should serve as Basic Considerations in the present Indian guidance and counselling practices and procedures.

I am, nevertheless, quite aware of the difficulties attendant on the effort of presenting the subject-matter of guidance and counselling in the context of the Indian social, economic, political and educational realities, and of developing a consistent, coherent and acceptable formulation for its further interpretation. The present attempt, at its best, may, therefore, still be crude. I have, however, been sustained by the belief

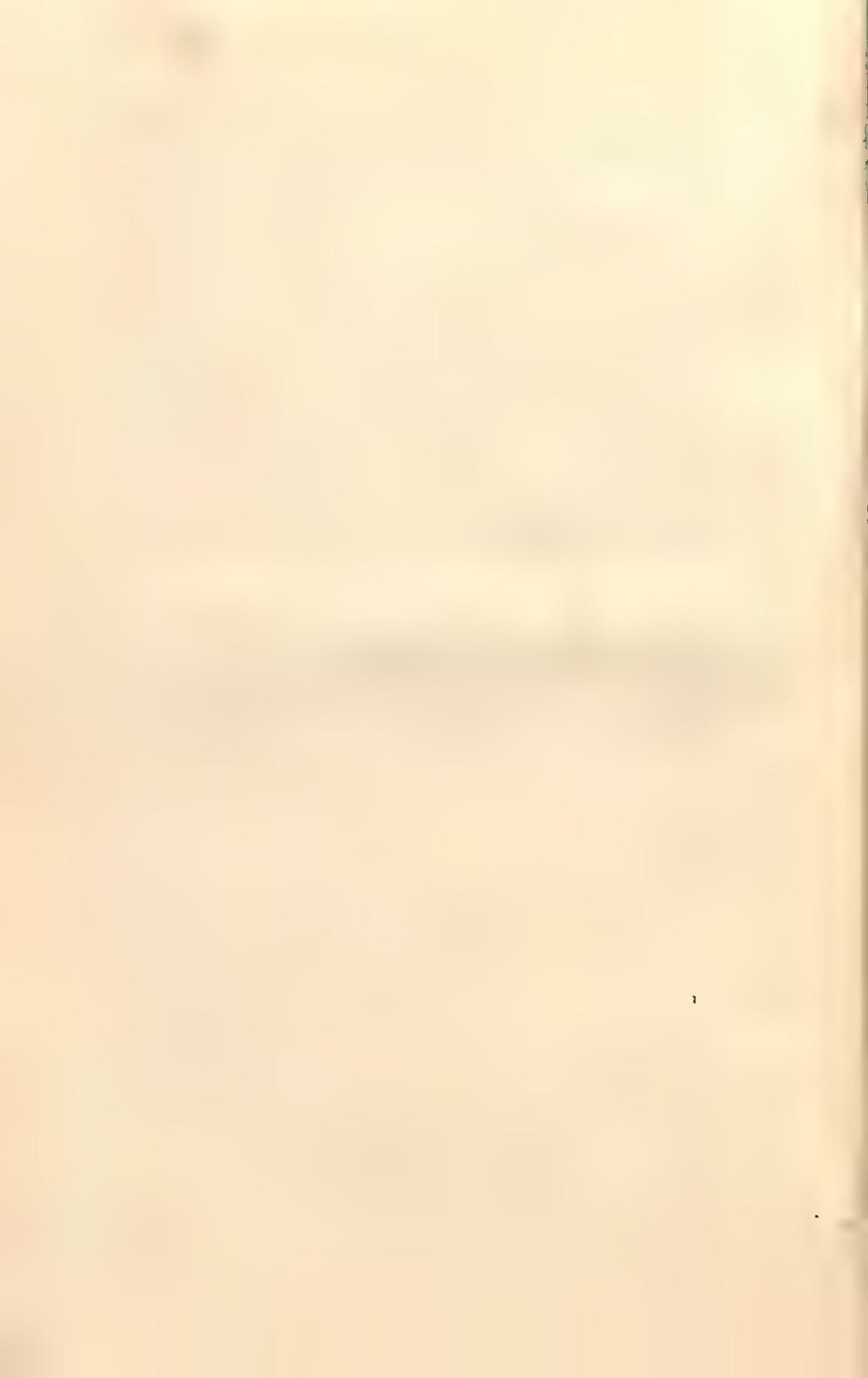
that a beginning has been made and the future efforts of many more persons in this field will purify my endeavour and bring in a greater degree of refinement and sophistication in the Indian philosophy and techniques of guidance and counselling.

I wish, unhesitatingly, to indicate my indebtedness by naming those authors who have influenced my thinking and from whose work I have borrowed without permission in the sincere hope that the same would have been granted if sought. The list includes: A. Roe, C. A. Myers, G. R. Rogers, D. C. Miller, D. E. Super, E. G. Williams, J. A. Jones, J. L. Cronback, H. B. Pepinsky, L. E. Tyler, T. I. Caplow, Ovid O. Meyers, and V. M. Axline. Their contributions have been suitably acknowledged in parentheses in the book and also of the others, whose contributions in the field are equally important but have not been mentioned by name.

Mr S. Das, who associated with me for eight long years as my stenographer, has helped me with the typing of the manuscript. My uncle Mr R. N. Karvayun corrected the manuscript and read a portion of the proofs. Mr R. G. Vincent of Orient Longmans Ltd. performed the most difficult task of editing the typescript and reading the proofs with me. Last but not the least important have been the silent inspiration and eloquent encouragement lent me by my wife Swaroop Pandit during the seven years I have been engaged in compiling the data and writing the book. She has helped me by ably and efficiently following her "Stable home-making career pattern", thus leaving me free and undisturbed to devote myself to my task. She has also assisted me in preparing the bibliography.

J. L. PANDIT

Bombay
January, 1970



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Work

what is work?

Work is a term used for a group of activities which is undertaken by an individual for his subsistence. Work is commonly considered to be directly or indirectly centred around the goal of subsistence. All those activities which one performs to earn one's living are generally put under the nomenclature of work, whether these activities comprise clipping coupons, digging ditches, operating machines, writing books, or robbing banks (366). It is not necessary that work should have relationship to a market, or that the worker should be paid for his labour. A housewife is a typical example of a person who occupies herself in work but receives no direct remuneration. This also holds good for an unpaid worker on a farm.

The terms "work", "occupation", "job", and "position" are generally used loosely and more or less interchangeably. Miller and Form (274, p. 114) define work as a "general activity centring around subsistence, and the specific routines of this activity as occupations". Shartle (383, pp. 25-26) has offered the following definitions of the terms, "occupation", "job", and "position".

An occupation is a group of similar jobs in several establishments.

A job is a group of similar positions in one plant, business, institution, or other workplace.

A position is a set of tasks performed by one person. There are as many positions as there are workers, but there may be one or a number of persons employed on the same job.

importance of work

Work is all pervasive. While some people enjoy working, there are others who try to run away from it. They fail to realize that work is the inescapable fate of the overwhelming majority of men and women. In the Hindu culture, work is worshipped in the form of God Vishvakarma. It is a befitting tribute to work which sustains human life on this earth and without which preservation of the human species is impossible.

In some cultures work is placed on a higher pedestal than in others, and yet in every culture a major part of the day of an individual is spent in work. A housewife spends an average two-thirds of the working day in household chores and looking after her children even though she is not recompensed for it. In agriculture in India, where labour is occupied for only a part of the year, they undertake subsidiary occupations for the remainder of the year, and if they are unable to get these they migrate to far-off cities in search of work. The teacher's day begins with his school duty which occupies him for six to seven hours, and the remainder of the day is spent in doing extra tuition work or preparing class-notes and doing household chores. If he is not doing extra tuition work or preparing class-notes he may be working on a new book. While teachers have vacations, people working in offices have to devote longer hours to their work and have to work for a longer period in the year. Still others working in higher positions have to deal with the office files at home and spend further time attending professional meetings and social parties. Nine or ten hours of a wage earner's twenty-four hours are taken up in work and work-related activities. In Middletown, the Lynds (241, p. 25) characterize occupation as the "most nearly dominant single influence in a man's life". "Work is not a part of life, it is literally life itself" (274, p. 115).

The relationship between work and mental health has been a subject of research (586). People who remain unemployed for a long time not only develop nervousness but lose self-confidence and interest in life. During the years

of mass unemployment in England (1931-1936) the Scottish Register of chronic sickness showed that ill-health spiralled by thirty per cent during the period of unemployment and was especially marked in the younger age groups. Nervous debility cases between the ages of sixteen and thirty-four actually increased by one hundred and fifty-four per cent (170, p. 82). The investigators of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust Enquiry (49) described those unemployed for long periods as moving towards the Labour Exchanges like a defeated and dispirited army, with drooping shoulders and slouching feet. Even in the case of unemployed handicapped young persons demoralization is apt to be rapid, and if the period of unemployment is prolonged, there is a serious arrest of development.

People who do not work soon become bored. Even when the motives for working are not to gain material benefits people continue to work (12). Very rapidly persons on the dole begin to clamour for work which may not bring in as much as they derive from the dole, and yet the government is faced with the problem of having a preponderance of men and women on its hands who although fed demand work. Refugees streaming from East and West Pakistan after the partition of India in 1947 insisted more on work than on the dole. Refugees in government camps grow bored with the camp routine and lack of work.

In the absence of occupation in leisure hours, Indian youth continue unlawful activities and indulge in acts of indiscipline. They generally loiter about and form small groups, and are seen strolling aimlessly around the corridors of colleges, laughing over puerile jokes. They "engage in unhealthy activities; fight over petty matters, drift into the hands of political sharks and eventually become indisciplined" is an opinion of one of the students (123, p. 5). Much of their leisure time young persons squander in reading pornography, going to the movies and gossiping, "clustered around a coffee-house table amidst the dense and acrid fumes of cigarettes and aroma of coffee" (56, p. 5).

motives for work

Human needs are many and varied and are organized into a hierarchy of relative prepotency. Grouping them in neat categories may be misleading, because needs do not arise singly. While some needs may predominate at one time, others may become more compelling at another; as soon as some are satisfied others may arise. Some of the needs may even remain permanently unsatisfied; man may become aware of them only in dire scarcity or under great stress. Some of the needs are conscious. There are other needs which remain unconscious and which people also satisfy by working.

Another characteristic of human needs is universality. The wishes and motives which people satisfy in work bear a striking similarity all over the world. The content of these wishes and motives and their expression may however differ from culture to culture (600). These differences, in fact, are superficial and may not go beyond the differences in the modes of dressing, eating and hair-do. Basically people are urged to satisfy the same needs in work. The nature of work and need-gratification, to a great extent however, depends on the stage of the material culture and philosophical orientation that people may have attained.

In Eastern cultures much of the work people do is to stave off hunger but very little reliance is laid on eating. Eating, in fact, in middle-class families is considered an unnecessary activity. Fasting on certain days in the week, for certain weeks in a month or for certain months in a year is to de-emphasize the importance of eating. Instead the emphasis is on simple living. The Gita ordains that man will do selfless work and crave for no reward. Not all men observe this dictum, but it does exhort people to rise above their immediate wants and work for other reasons also. What Western society achieves by need-gratification, Indian society achieves by need-denial. A need constantly denied, as is done by the Indian Sanyasins, loses its urgency and may give rise to a higher hierarchy of needs (256).

Until recently the concept of work-needs was inadequately understood and perfunctorily examined. It is due to the combined researches of economists (128, 175), sociologists (50, 395) and psychologists (319, 408, 422) that we have a much better understanding of the dynamics of work than ever before. These researches have converged on the problems of why people work; why some work, and others do not; why some people work harder than others; of the processes of becoming established in an occupation and the factors affecting these processes. The researches have undermined to a great degree our belief that people work only to earn their living. They point out other reasons for work.

Work needs can be considered in their four inter-related aspects: physiological, security, social and psychological. Super (423), however, thinks that there are three major needs for which satisfaction is sought in work; human relations, activity and livelihood. All these needs can be satisfied by working in one situation or in several situations. People also contrive their own recreations generally called hobbies, if they fail to satisfy all their needs in work. Hobbies in most cases are different from the occupational activities that men pursue. Whether on the job or outside the job hours, people work in order to satisfy their physiological, security, social and psychological needs.

physiological needs

Physiological needs may be called basic, nurture, creature or existence wants. Food, shelter and clothing are considered the basic human needs which people satisfy by work. In Western countries where food is abundant and distribution equitable, psychologists often relegate the need for food, clothing and shelter to a position of lesser importance. Some writers even forget to mention them as motives for work. Man does not live by bread alone but cannot live without it either. Three-fourths of the human race concentrated in Asia still work for food, shelter and clothing. Much of the human activity

which goes on after working hours also is directed towards augmenting the earnings for the livelihood of a middle and lower middle-class family. Ganguli (125) points out that for the majority of the rank and file workers in India, financial incentives are still of topmost importance for work.

security needs

The picture is transformed when we consider people whose absolute (economic) earnings are more than what they need to expend on the basic necessities of life. They work to increase their earnings more in order to acquire more security than other persons having similar education, training and family background. The security needs become more predominant than the need for satisfying the material needs. This is also true of the people who are employed in high-salaried jobs and who can satisfy their basic needs without working for extra payment. High-salaried people outside their office hours work to ensure security for themselves and for their family.

Security is thus another reason why people work. Security is acquired by working in a stable job position, in a firm of good reputation, by working hard to reach a position in which fluctuation is rare, by improving one's qualifications so that getting another job becomes easy or by saving enough for hard days and old age, and by getting ahead of others in the same profession so that in the event of a lay-off the others being lower in seniority are laid off first. The competition among Indian youth for government jobs is motivated mainly by their element of security. Government jobs are more secure than jobs in the private sector and are not affected by the whims and whimsies of a single individual. Persons of higher technical qualifications, however, seek employment in the private sector because hard work brings in more substantial reward and quicker promotion in the private sector than in the public sector. Seeking security through work is typically a middle-class ideal in India. On the lower rungs of the social ladder

people adopt a fatalistic attitude in matters of future changes in one's fortune.

Security needs also are satisfied through education. In modern society the importance of clothes is being de-emphasized in comparison to education which is a passport to employment and an insurance against unemployment. The peaceful, smooth running of society ordinarily makes its members feel safe enough from wild beasts, criminal assault, murder, tyranny and forced labour and thereby enables them to think of security rather than of safety. In societies in which man is still at the mercy of natural elements and human tyranny, people satisfy their safety needs by concentrating on building up their bodies rather than educating their minds. In our own society as far as the government machinery is becoming efficient to that extent the safety needs of the people are emerging into a hierarchy of security needs, which people satisfy by preparing themselves for a working life by educating themselves and their children.

Allied to the needs of physical safety and job safety as well as economic security is the need for emotional security. When people have achieved their safety needs, the need for emotional security becomes dominant and compelling. People are keen on being secure in their relations with the other people with whom they work or with whom they associate in the social milieu. In work situations workers desire to be on friendly terms with their immediate superiors, and in order to achieve this they must work harder. Persons placed in superior positions work to make their subordinates feel emotionally drawn towards them in order to make them amenable to persuasion. Emotional security is more a human-relations need than a physical need, and as Roethlisberger and Dickson (350) point out, workers work harder and more efficiently in an environment of emotional security.

social needs

When the physiological and security needs are satisfied,

the hierarchy of esteem needs emerges. The esteem needs and their satisfaction are rather culturally determined. People evaluate those things highly which are of high evaluation in the eyes of the group of people with whom they work and in the culture wherein they function. The concept of Dharma in Ancient India implied the performance of the task of the group to which the individual belonged and seeking satisfaction in that work. Prestige was attached to the performance of Dharma, the occupation assigned to that group. Thus a Brahmin sought prestige among Brahmins, a Kshtri among the Kshtriyas and so forth.

Whether in primitive or in industrialized society, people have to dwell with others and work with different people. They compete with others for advancement and have to co-operate with others to accomplish their work. In this interaction people adopt methods in order to get status, prestige, and power, which in turn give more power, prestige and status. This chain reaction is set up in many ways, by holding a high-salaried job, amassing a huge fortune, starting a big business or by working with and associating with people of wealth and position. Irrespective of the nature of the society in which people move and have their being, they seek prestige, status and power, and prestige through power. In one society one obtains the esteem of others by being a skilled hunter, in another society by being a great medicine man or a bold warrior, or a very unemotional man, in still another by being a noted general or a scholar and so on. In our own society people obtain esteem by hoarding wealth and then using a part of it in their children's marriages and humanitarian works or by acquiring scholarship. People work to be recognized as persons in their own right and to gain the esteem of others.

Work like religious, recreational or family behaviour is pursued for its social rewards. Work is essentially a group activity, for it is often performed in the presence of others, and involves many persons in interaction. People soon begin to evaluate one another's work for its prestige and social importance. This is so because the rewards people get from work

are social respect and admiration of their fellow men. This explains why do people whose livelihood is assured and those whose children's security needs are taken care of, work in social and political fields which garner a richer harvest of social rewards such as prestige, status, power, praise and admiration of their fellow men. In short, all these needs can be summed up as the need for being recognized as a person in one's own right.

The need to be recognized as a person is more pressing and difficult to be satisfied in a technological society than in a primitive society which fosters emotional security at its maximum. A high degree of industrialization evolves into a high degree of specialization and rationalization of work and in physical remoteness between the owner of the factory and the labour, or between those who formulate work policies and those affected by them. The lack of contact which industrialization engenders, results in casting the industrialists into one camp and the labour into the opposite camp for the purpose of safeguarding their security needs. The importance of an individual in such a system is relegated to the background and a collective leadership arises.

Depersonalization also results because of the enormous concentration of people in a single place. It often makes the individual feel that he is a cog lost in a large, complex and impersonal machine. Another reason for depersonalization is the introduction of the piecemeal process of manufacturing. The labour seldom see the complete result of its handiwork. A machine is manufactured in parts in several departments and is assembled in another in which the workers neither took part in its designing nor in its making. This creates dissatisfaction in workers. In this depersonalized situation and in the period of widespread unemployment, the factory workers, hitherto unorganized and antagonistic to organization, as Warner and Low showed in the Yankee City study (580), organized and struck. The authors of this study interpreted the strike as a desperate protest against depersonalization, against the status of being mere cogs in the wheel.

psychological needs

People are happy when they find their emotional needs satisfied in the work. They do better and more work when these needs receive full satisfaction (163). Belongingness is one of the emotional needs which express themselves in human relations in work situations. Belongingness needs take the form of friendliness and warmth towards interacting persons. People hunger for affectionate relations with other people and especially with those with whom they work, and strive with great assiduity to reach this goal. People also fulfil belongingness needs by belonging to clubs, church organizations and educational associations. Membership of these associations and organizations also satisfies esteem needs.

The achievement of a social or professional position engenders self-confidence, and the need for independence which shows up differently in different occupational groups. While to a worker in an industry or in an office independence means freedom to set the pace of work, freedom from close supervision and freedom to express opinions regarding the work done or to be done, to an executive independence means to chart his own work routine, take policy decisions and initiate new procedures. Independence by the teaching profession is interpreted in terms of freedom of expression and inquiry. The study by Knutson (222) has shown the need for independence to be strongest at the higher occupational echelons at which independence is greatest (240), in others (53) uniformly important at all occupational levels in North America.

Interrelated to independence needs is the hierarchy of cognitive needs such as the need to experiment and the need to know and understand. People are content in those jobs which are up to their intellectual level, which give opportunities to experiment and to think and which involve less routine work. Some people like to see a change in their job location and some like positions in which they have to perform a variety of jobs in a variety of places (164), or have the freedom to implement their own ideas, which is more a matter of role

playing and satisfying one's own value system through work carried on in pleasant and efficient work conditions. Independence to determine one's own actions and activities is, however, achieved by renouncing a part of it in order to belong to an organization or an association. Nevertheless, it is a common need in modern man to find a work situation in which he can retain a fair degree of independence to ensure his own integrity, to be himself.

The need to surrender a part of one's independence in order to achieve a greater measure of independence to pursue one's activities is perhaps related to man's need for order, social stability and need for beauty. In democracies people work for social stability by exercising their voting rights and then handing over the right to the elected members to govern. The psychology of work has not yet taken into consideration the human needs for order, social stability and beauty which people satisfy in work such as electioneering, poster painting, making objects of beauty and arranging their working and living environment.

While most of the needs which people satisfy in work and for which they work are conscious, there are also needs which remain unconscious and are made conscious with suitable techniques. Roe's studies (343, 344, 345, 346, 347) of artists, scientists, eminent biologists, psychologists and anthropologists reveal unconscious motivation in their work. In work, people also satisfy some of their neurotic needs if the development of personality has not proceeded on normal lines. The need for dominance, control of others and the need for aggressiveness are some of those neurotic needs which some people satisfy in work. Roe's studies and many others emphasize an important factor that people work consciously and unconsciously to actualize themselves, or to attain what Allport (2) calls "functional autonomy".

The need for functional autonomy, people satisfy in work by working for the sake of work. Work which is a means of earning one's living, of satisfying a hierarchy of security, social, and psychological needs becomes an end in itself when it is

divorced from its origins. It has frequently been demonstrated that work as an activity, as a pastime in the literal sense of the term, is important to many adults at all occupational levels (112, 286), but work in the sense of functional autonomy comes to be wanted for its own sake. The *Gita* defines the yogi as a person who has attained functional autonomy in terms of work done without its extrinsic reward. In this sense work and play become one and the same.

summary

The primary purpose for which people work is to satisfy their basic needs. When these needs are satisfied, other needs arise. While some needs may predominate at one time, other needs may become more compelling at others. Some needs may be prepotent in some persons, other needs may be more important for other persons. Some of these needs are conscious, and some may remain unconscious. Needs arise in hierarchies. When one hierarchy of needs is satisfied another of a higher order becomes prepotent; when the second hierarchy of needs is satisfied a third appears and so on. People continue to work to satisfy these emerging hierarchies of needs in their effort to actualize themselves in consonance with their cultural and environmental conditions, and in so doing some of them attain a functional autonomy. The degree of satisfaction in work is related to the degree to which people are able to satisfy their needs through work, and to the degree the conditions in which they have to perform work, make satisfaction possible.

Impact of Work

THERE are hardly any studies to be encountered of the effect of work on the person and especially on his social behaviour in India. The socio-psychological impact of work can be studied in terms of caste, social mobility, social status, values and attitude of the workers and also in terms of their health and outlook on life.

occupations and caste

The social stratification which is characteristic of rural India and has its facsimile in the lower rungs of the social ladder in urban India is caste division. The caste system is a unique institution in India and is not known to exist in any other country except in some form in Northern America. Caste is not the basis of stratification of the Hindu society only. It has its counterpart in the Indian Muslim and Christian communities also. The fourfold division of the Muslim society is clearly borrowed from the Hindu caste system (301).

The history of caste origins being shrouded in antiquity is not only obscure but also baffling. There are as many rationales of caste origins as those who have attempted to explain them. The writers on this subject, however, can be divided into three groups: those who assign a racial origin to caste; those who claim that origin is purely functional and those who assign it a mixed origin partly racial and partly functional.

(183, 341) assign the caste system a purely racial significance. Mazumder (259) confirms this on the basis of the anthropometric surveys carried out in Uttar Pradesh. He discovered

that the Brahmins have the largest physique and the highest social position; Kshatriyas or Chattris and Muslims who are close to the Chattris in their anthropometric characteristics are placed next to the Brahmins in both ethnic and social position; Ahirs followed by the artisans viz. the Kahars and the Chamars (leather workers) and the last of all the tribal group. "All the groups, castes and tribes considered in this study form an ethnic order and this is also the order of social hierarchy as understood and recognized in the state" (p. 300).

(109, 303) have found very little confirmation in the racial theory of social stratification. The utmost that can be predicted on the basis of anthropometry is that the average nasal index of a large number of the members of any caste indicates in a very uncertain manner the amount of aboriginal blood among the members and thereby indirectly the greater or less respectability of the occupation followed. Saberwal (364) points out that anthropometry is more helpful in determining the nutritional standards and clothing needs of the people than in ordering social scales of superiority and inferiority or status.

Nesfield (302) considers occupation and occupation alone as the basis for ordering class categories in the Indian social hierarchy. The social distance between castes, high and low, according to him arises from the nature of their occupations; the superiority or inferiority of the caste being determined by the superiority of the occupation followed by the caste.

Ibbetson (185) has traced the development of the caste system in terms of social evolution through the guild system or occupational groups vying with one another for superiority according to their economic status. Thus the exaltation of the priestly guild was soon followed by the priests insisting on the hereditary nature of their occupational status, and this led to the formation of endogamous units as more and more of the guilds became eager to conserve the social status and privileges they enjoyed and to secure these permanently for the members of the guild. The Brahmins set the ball rolling, the various other guilds followed suit, and a hierachal organization established itself.

Another theory of caste origins (358) is based upon the hypothesis of the interaction between the invading Indo-Aryans who brought with them the Varna system, and the crude occupational class system of the Dravadians and the taboos of the pre-Dravadian tribes. The system was kept going by the isolation of the social groups and the degree of purity maintained by the invading Aryans and the indigenous tribes. Between the two poles, the Brahmins and the tribal people, the other groups consist of the intermixture of racial groups.

The development of the caste system appears from the available sources to be partly evolutionary and partly enforced and sustained by the ruling caste. Every caste that came into power enforced its value system on the other caste groups. But it was mostly the Brahmin caste which ultimately succeeded in determining the system of values for the entire society (290). It was this system of values which to a great degree determined the occupational classification of Hindu society. Jobs were thus ordained to be clean and unclean. Members of the higher caste groups did the clean and those of the lower caste groups did the unclean jobs, which in turn engendered new caste groupings.

The middle-class values of present-day India are the legacy of the Brahmanical system of values, which determine the purity and impurity of occupations; manual jobs are considered impure or unclean; non-manual jobs are considered pure or clean. While clean jobs are done by persons of all castes, unclean jobs are done solely by persons of low castes. The social gradation based on the dichotomy of clean and unclean jobs has remained unchanged until now.

occupation and social mobility

In the Indian society, occupations are the principal means of social mobility. This explains why the members of the scheduled castes and of a minority community such as the Anglo-Indian fought to get reservation of government jobs inscribed in the Indian Constitution. The Indian Constitu-

tion contains provisions which include reservation of seats in Parliament and the State legislature for an initial period of ten years (later extended by another ten years), preferential treatment in the matter of public employment and extended educational facilities (154). This also explains why the minority communities vote for candidates who promise to safeguard their occupational interests (445.)

The dynamics of occupation in social mobility manifests itself in agriculture where a host of agricultural sub-castes trace their origins to their functional attitude, and have gone up and down the ladder of social status because of the nature of the occupation.

The Doms and Guriyas by renouncing their socially degraded occupations in favour of cultivation have risen in social status. Similarly, the Singharyas and Kahars, the Chamars, and Koris, the Balhars and Basors have all ascended a step higher in the social scale by merely taking up agriculture as their occupation. On the other hand the Maha-Brahmins and Dakants, the Bhunjas and Bhatyas, the Gujars and Bhats have been degraded by adopting lower occupations.

The Bhumihars and Tagas who claim a Brahmin descent by abandoning their priestly occupations and taking up a secular life of agricultural labour have also been socially degraded (239). There are also examples of members of higher castes being degraded by royal injunction because they assumed occupations of lower status. The high castes such as the Subernabanik (workers in gold) and the Sankharis (dealers in conch shell and its products) in Bengal were stigmatized for assuming low caste occupations (259).

In cities where people are respected more by the occupations they follow than by birth, men and women strive to improve their qualifications in order to raise their social status by improving their occupations. Social mobility occurs both ways, by improving one's qualifications and thereby one's occupation or by first improving one's occupation and then by joining school or college and improving one's qualifications. This may be more true of women than men as is shown in the census

report of the year 1961 published by the West Bengal Government. There are about 1,896 whole-time women students of the age group between 35 and 59 in Calcutta compared to 390 male students, which "shows that girls who failed to prosecute studies owing to financial difficulties or other reasons in the early part of their life revert to schools and colleges again when they have been able to lay by small resources to finance their education" (6).

Even in the lower echelons of society, people veer up and down the social ladder as they go up and down the occupational ladder. For example, a bus cleaner moves up the occupational ladder by learning the trade of a driver; the tailor's assistant learns the art of cutting and stitching by working for the master tailor and thereby becoming a tailor himself. Similarly, a street vendor by opening a small shop in a bustee lifts himself to the position of the owner of a big stall in a fashionable locality. The history of some big business owners may not be different from that of the present-day occupationally mobile street vendors.

With the mobility in one's occupation enters the ecological mobility. Starting from a small shop and a dwelling-place one moves into a more expensive suburb, joins a club which is felt to be appropriate to one's status, associates and entertains people who will help develop the newly acquired status rather than the people who are congenial. It is only occasionally that a change in social status precedes change in occupation. When this does happen it is because education opens the way to both social and occupational changes. Many of the West Pakistani refugees in Delhi started their careers as small vendors, horse-carriage, scooter or taxi drivers, entered into the property-selling business or as small entrepreneurs in manufacturing, acquired plots of land and by studying at night schools and colleges, joined legal and teaching professions and also came to acquire property. Gradually, such people shifted from refugee colonies to middle-class dwelling areas and ultimately into fashionable districts where they gradually developed into house-owners.

A change of occupation because of a change in social status happens more often among the sons than among the fathers. Sons of petty shopkeepers, tailors, taxi drivers, or truck drivers by attending good schools, later professional, technical schools and colleges and by acquiring the social graces of the middle class join professions like teaching, medicine and engineering. The Army, Navy, and Air-force open up still more promising educational opportunities and congenial careers for the ambitious and the intelligent. Educational and occupational safeguards for the backward and minority communities ensure social mobility among the children of the members of these communities by securing for them the channels of mobility which they may not be able to avail themselves of if left to stagnate on their own. In these instances education brings about occupational and social mobility. Kabir, the quondam Union Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (438), for that reason, urged the Muslims of India to realize the ultimate value of education.

occupation determines social status

The general consensus is that Indian society is stratified vertically by caste, national origins and religion. If the basis of stratification is considered to be caste then the Brahmins stand at the top of the list, the Kshtriyas and the Vaish in the middle and the Shudras at the bottom, together with the lower groups known variously as Untouchables, Depressed Classes, Scheduled or Exterior Castes. These castes have their parallel in other communities also. If wealth and property are considered then landowners and rent receivers proceed to the top, peasants and agricultural labourers descend in the middle and field labourers together with agrestic serfs cover the lowest rung of the social scale. If national origin is considered to be the basis of class division then people of Alpine or Mediterranean extraction stand at the top, people of mixed origin in the middle and of proto-Australoid at the bottom

(259). In terms of religion Hindus, Christians and Muslims stand in that order in the social hierarchy also.

When we consider the division of society on the basis of occupations we find that a new and different social alignment takes place which obviates caste, religious and ethnic divisions. People who man our public services and different professions are drawn from different castes, religions and ethnic stocks. A scheduled caste minister stands high occupationally but whose Sudra origin and affiliations assign him a low position when he is stratified according to caste. Similarly there are doctors, lawyers, business executives and teachers who are evaluated high by occupation but low by religion.

One is thus led to conclude that the present Indian society is composed of multiple strata, and that these strata are not all horizontal or parallel to each other. Instead some are vertical, some are nearly horizontal and some cut across the others at various angles. The result is that most persons belong to several different social strata, play a number of different roles, and whether or not one appears socially high, medium, or low depends on which type of stratification (caste, religions, wealth, common interests, style of living, or occupations) is being done at the moment. The urban Indian society no longer is the caste society it was two decades ago, although in certain respects it continues to be highly stratified. The castes are breaking up into classes (237). The strata, however, are multiple and confused. Lorenzo (239, p. 20) observes that, "recent tendencies in all parts of India exhibit a loose attachment to traditional occupations, and castes with the decline of its social and religious super-impositions, is soon yielding ground to new class systems which have been imported from the economic system of the West."

In respect in which Indian society is stratified, movement from one stratum to another is difficult. The movement from one caste to another or from one religion to another which in turn determined social mobility is becoming increasingly superfluous. Marriages between persons of different castes and religions although becoming more frequent are no longer

considered essential for mobility or status, since movement in occupational dimensions is more easy. Occupational status has been increasingly supplanting the status which an individual inherited by caste or religion. Sudras by acquiring higher education and high occupational positions and wealth have moved up to the ranks of teachers, lawyers, engineers, ministers and governors. This tendency will increasingly influence the entire society as more and more educational opportunities will be available and occupational opportunities will further multiply. Instead of caste alignment a class alignment will take shape; people will place themselves in occupational groupings rather than in groupings by caste (396).

occupation moulds values and attitudes

The correspondence between occupations and castes has been the theme of books on Anthropology (259), History (260) and Geography (403). Castes have, so much and so long, regulated the allocation and selection of occupations that the basic thesis that caste is the crystallization of the value system through occupation has not received much attention. Recent writers (239, 290), however, have pointed out the significance of caste in terms of the value system which has to a degree regulated the conduct of the members of different castes in different occupations. The concept of Dharma attached to each caste (82) is meant more to regulate the attitudes of the members towards the work which they perform, and which in turn influences the Dharma.

The emergence of new hierarchies of jobs and the thawing of channels of mobility have brought members of different castes, religions and ethnic stocks to work together in an environment determined by the needs of particular occupations. These occupations and the environment created by them attract those people who feel their ability to achieve their values in those and also influence the values of those who perform the many tasks allotted to them in those jobs. It is an area in which research may reveal the formative

influence of occupations on the value system of the workers and their attitudes. It is obvious that those who are interested in their fellow men will take up social work as their vocation (85, 184) and those who are engaged in an occupation will have their attitudes influenced more favourably towards their occupation or may shift to other occupations if they fail to adapt or develop conflicting values or attitudes (50), towards occupational roles. The satisfactions and dissatisfactions derived from work are a fruitful area of psychological and sociological inquiry.

Occupations not only influence and modify the values and attitudes of the workers but also become instrumental in developing occupational personalities (349). Becker and Carper (14) have described the development of identification with occupations in graduate students. They report the finding that occupational personalities develop as a result of interest in the problem of work, pride in skills, investment, internalization of motives, and sponsorship by professors. Besides these there may be other factors also. The social factors which operate select some types of recruits for certain occupations, the kind of formal and informal training that different occupational groups receive which encourages or discourages the development of certain capacities and the effect of job routines on personality organization.

The impact of work routines on general behaviour is now becoming a problem of sociological and psychological research. W. Fred Cottrell (77) describes how the importance of time to the railroader arises from his occupational orientation. Some of the American novelists have been able to point out the moulding influence of the job routine on personality. Kauffman's novels capture the moulding influence of the job on personal development. In one of his novels (218), he describes the life of a clerk in a departmental store. Upton Sinclair (388) in *The Jungle* vividly delineates how work routine of a fertilizer man affects his entire being and that of his family life.

The daily schedule of work, to a very great degree, is set

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PAN

and determined by occupations. The hours of arriving at work in the morning and of departing in the evening vary with the type of work-setting and with the occupational status of the worker. An agricultural labourer is engaged in the field all day long and is dependent on rain and weather conditions or the availability of water. His life and attitudes are moulded by the vagaries of Nature and natural forces which make him superstitious and fatalistic. The factory operative sets his routine according to the shift whether it is day or night shift, eats his lunch in the labourers' cafeteria and becomes more conscious of social distance and is oppressed with the boredom of factory routine, which often leads him into vices. The clerical worker on the contrary works according to an unchangeable routine, rises and goes to bed at fixed hours, eats at fixed times and is obedient. The executive, however, rises later, goes to work later, eats lunch later, leaves the office later, eats dinner later and engages in indoor work or recreation after dark, and retires later than the agricultural worker, the factory operative or even the clerical worker.

The type of pastime or recreation is also determined to a great degree by the occupations people follow. While agricultural workers seek recreation through indigenous games, wrestling bouts, folk dances or by attending weekly fairs, factory operatives who live in more congested areas and have less capital to invest in recreation, depend more on the less expensive forms of commercial entertainments such as the movies. The clerical workers in their recreations are close to the factory operatives in frequently going to the movies and soccer matches and also share with the executives their love for cricket matches and musical recitals. The financier or businessman belongs to the city club so that he should associate with other persons with whom informal contacts may be helpful in his business transactions.

Occupations, as has been brought out in several American studies (59, 76), influence and regulate the family life of the workers in consonance with the demands of their professions.

These studies show that the office clerk has more time for family life and that it is the middle and lower middle-class that have the most complete family lives and attend most to their children and homes, for they have the necessary combination of resources, values, and time free from occupational demands.

Distance from home to work-place is another factor that influences family life. Tribal life (259) has been deeply influenced on account of the distance a large number of tribals have to travel every morning and evening to and fro from work. In cities large number of people come to work from the suburbs by trains and buses which takes long hours of travel and by the time the workers reach home they are left with precious little time to devote to their home life or family. An enormous number of office workers come daily from outside into Bombay and Calcutta by trains and by buses. They live 25 to 30 miles away and have to travel to their places of work daily, even trains and buses being timed to suit the need. This is also now becoming a feature of daily life in centres like Kanpur, Agra and Bareilly. Commuting is becoming a feature of an enormously large number of workers in India and has been influencing their family life significantly.

Occupations do not only bring people daily from their suburban homes into cities to work but also bring together people from villages to work permanently in industrial towns. In this form commuting takes the form of migration from villages to industrial towns seasonally or perennially, and interstate migration takes place. This will explain why a large number of the workers employed in Bombay state are immigrants from U.P., M.P., Rajasthan, Hyderabad and Madras. Similarly there has been a large-scale immigration into Bengal. This immigration consisted of three streams of migrants—one consisting of labourers from Bihar, Orissa, and the eastern districts of U.P. into the industrial areas around Calcutta; the other consisting of agriculturists from Nepal and the Chota Nagpur plateau into the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and Coach Bihar, and the third consisting of the

immigrants from northern Bengal, Santhal Parganas and Assam into Birbhum, Malda, West Denajpur and Tripura. In the Iron and Steel industry of Jamshedpur the workers come especially from M.P., Bengal and U.P. In the Assam tea estates the workers are attracted from Chota Nagpur, Bihar, U.P., M.P., and Madras (254).

Occupations bring bewilderingly heterogeneous groups of workers into interaction with one another in an environment which is opposed to what they are accustomed to. The industrial zones are marked by the concentration of workers of different ethnic and religious groups. They are assembled during the day-time or in the night shift in the uniformity of factory life and spend the rest of their time in congested industrial quarters. They have to abide by the strict discipline of factory life, in an unfavourable climate and hard conditions of work. They generally leave behind their families in their villages and lead a life of enforced bachelorhood, which affects their emotional life. They fall prey to the temptations of prostitution, drinking, and gambling. In their absence their children grow up without the guiding influence of the father.

Occupations to a very great extent determine where people should live. Some occupations can be pursued in certain localities and not in others. For film artistes, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta are working centres; radio studios attract singers and musicians who have to live close to them or in cities where they are situated; mining engineers must live near the mines; factory managers must live near the factory; the airline pilot is to live in a major terminus; seamen in ports; journalists, film critics, dramatists and psychologists are found in large cities or where there are colleges and other institutions. The part of the country and even the community in which one lives may be decided by one's occupation. This is also true of neighbourhoods (96, 177), and friendships (41, 589).

Conduct is another factor which is, to a very great degree, regulated by occupations. Priests and teachers in India are expected to conform to the same norm of behaviour. Simplicity

and austerity of life besides abstention from smoking, drinking and gambling are expected of persons engaged in teaching and priestly occupations. While these activities are culturally looked down upon, members of other professional groups can indulge in them without being socially considered immoral. This is true even in America. In spite of the maximum individual freedom people have over there, occupations regulate conduct (50), and those engaged in teaching are expected to lead a temperate life.

occupation, health and hazards

Not only do occupations mould personality, influence family life, determine status, shape social life and regulate conduct but also affect the health of the workers (331). Different occupations have different effects on health depending on the nature of the occupation and the environment in which it is carried on. There are some occupations which are plied out of doors over a vast area, like agriculture and transport; there are other occupations which are carried on underground such as mining; there are still other occupations which are carried on indoors, maybe inside a factory, workshop, or office.

On account of the extreme heat and cold in which agricultural and transport workers have to carry on their occupations, they fall prey to malaria, influenza, heat-stroke and pneumonia. The incidence of Silicosis is very common among the workers in the mining industry. A survey made by the All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health has revealed that the "incidence of active tuberculosis in the jute textile industry ... increases sixfold as the worker moves from his village to the industrial environment" (431, p. 42).

Crawford (79) has noted the existence of several occupational diseases that he found in different occupational groups in this country. For example: in printing presses he noted that lead-poisoning is very common. Without exception he found the gums of the operatives to have been spongy and disfigured by a blue line. In addition the records of the dispensaries

showed numerous cases of colic, headache and a few instances of "wrist-drop", which further confirms that these workers suffered from lead-poisoning. In glass factories, Crawford found a high incidence of asthma and bronchitis among blowers and helpers and pleurisy and pneumonia in furnace workers. He also noted a very high incidence of eye trouble arising from the glare of the furnaces and also burns from lime among the glass factory operatives. In sugar factories throat complaints are chronic and there are also cases of asthma. In a paint factory there was a high record of colic, and chronic ulceration. Among the rice-mill operatives cases of coughing and lung trouble, with sickness and expectoration of blood are common. These diseases are found to be more common amongst husk coolies and oil-engine drivers.

The Indian Council of Medical Research (436) has thrown greater light on the subject of occupational diseases in some of the surveys conducted by it. The result of some of the surveys are given below:

1. *Lead intoxication.* Investigation in some of the printing presses in Calcutta showed that nearly 41% of the workers in the monotype, linotype and monocasting departments suffered from lead poisoning.

2. *Cyanide hazard.* Cyanogen and its components, though less common, are as deadly as carbon monoxide and constitute a considerable menace to the health of the operatives in the electroplating, coal-tar and fertilizer industries.

3. *Silicosis.* It is very common in the mining industry.

4. The Mysore Act includes Silicosis or miner's phthisis and cyanide rash among occupational diseases while the Travancore Act includes primary epitheliomatous cancer of the skin, the outcome of employment in any process involving the roasting or extraction of cashew-nuts.

Handicrafts although carried on in conditions of less stress and strain are not free from hazard either. Even a simple craft like photoframing may afflict the photoframer with optical deficiency or squint-eyedness (474). Grass-cutters have their occupational hazards too. There are snakes lurking in the

grass (470). Finger-print experts develop asthma during their long and strenuous career of finger-printing technique. "Working all night was nothing unusual for him", remarked one of the finger experts (482). On the contrary, persons in high offices and show business have their occupational hazards in a short-lived fame. "The possibility of being suddenly plunged from pinnacles of power and fame to oblivion is an occupational hazard that politicians and artistes must face" (455).

The other kind of occupational hazards which do not relate to the performance of jobs, are accidents connected with the working of machines. These accidents have arisen by 30 per cent since 1937. This was disclosed by speakers at a seminar on Industrial Safety at the Indian Institute of Social Welfare & Business Management, Calcutta (515). The steel industry claims the highest percentage of accidents. The cotton-textile industry, the printing industry and jute industry also claim a large number of victims. But worse than these is the mining industry (529) in which between 300 and 350 persons perish every year as the result of accidents.

There is hardly any study made in India in the diseases arising out of working in research laboratories, in offices and other establishments. While physical ailments and accidents are common among the workers working in agriculture, transport and factories, emotional diseases may be common among the workers engaged in high-level jobs. Allergies, piles, and other diseases arising out of stresses and strains of occupations, especially heart troubles, are common in middle-aged men of the high socio-economic group like the executives (33).

summary

Under the impact of work, caste alignments are breaking down and on account of the privileges embodied in the Indian Constitution, the scheduled castes and the tribal people are gradually ascending the social ladder. The means by which

mobility is occurring and caste is loosening up are just occupations.

While to a great extent, even now, caste determines individual attitudes and values, they are modified by the life in the work plant and the work routines. Work and occupation play an important role in determining the social status, attitudes, values, and the style of living of the individual. In these respects caste is losing ground to occupation, especially when occupation is to determine where one should work; where one should reside; amongst whom one should live; with whom one should have social contacts; what kind of diseases and accidents one will fall prey to and what kind of leisure-hour activities one should pursue. While caste will determine what attitudes and values one should implement through occupation, it will in turn determine to what occupational caste the individual will belong.

Workers

population trends

India, also known as Bharat, by extent of its territory is the seventh largest but the second most populated country in the world. According to the 1961 census the country's population is 439 million: 226 million males and 213 million females of whom 82.0 % live in villages (158). The following table shows the growth of population since 1901.

TABLE 1

Showing the growth, variation and density of population since 1901

Year	Persons*	Variation*	Density**
1901	236,281,245	—	—
1911	252,122,410	+ 5.73	—
1921	251,352,261	- 0.31	193
1931	279,015,498	+11.01	213
1941	318,701,012	+14.22	246
1951	361,129,622	+13.31	287
1961	439,235,082	+21.50	370

SOURCES: *Census of India, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962, Statement 1, p. X.

**India 1964, Table 11, p. 16.

We find from Table 1 that during these 60 years except for a drop in the decade 1911-1921 the pressure on the land has been steadily increasing. While India's population was almost stationary (1911-21), increases in subsequent decades were beyond anything previously experienced; that for 1951-61

can only be described as phenomenal. "What is impressive is not so much the rate of increase, which up till now has never been inordinately high, and for past decades even quite low, but the large absolute increments." (153, p. x.)

The population projections completed by the working group set up by the population expert committee indicate that the present growth rate will continue showing an upward trend during the quinquennium 1961-66 and the country's population will rise to 494.7 million in 1966. Thereafter, the growth rate is expected to decline, and the country's population is expected to rise to 559.6 million in 1971, 630 million in 1976, and 694.9 million in 1981 (74).

In terms of absolute increments, the increase of population at the rate of 10 million a year, has become a source of anxiety to the government which has begun stressing the importance of family planning (149), in its various forms of mass sterilization and use of the intrauterine contraceptive devices (538). Senator Ernest Gruening (80), author of a bill to put the American Government in the business of disseminating birth-control information at home and abroad advocates continence. There are others (356), who recommend the Russian methods of population control, and raising the ceiling of the marriageable age of girls. All those suggested remedies, especially sterilization and use of contraceptives, Dr. Katju (216) warns, have the inherent danger of eliminating the fit and multiplying the unfit, because he is afraid "our current policies appeal to those who can raise and support good and desirable families but receive almost no response from the people who are not in a position nor do they derive much assistance from their ancestors by processes of heredity to raise well built-up families."

Another aspect of the population increase is the variation in the growth of the male and female population, which is apparent from Table 2.

It is obvious from Table 2 that the increment in both the male and female total population is almost of the same dimension. In terms of variation in the male and female population

TABLE 2

Showing growth and variation in male and female population since 1901

Year	Persons	Males	Variation	Females	Variation
1901	235,478,813	119,398,710	—	116,080,103	—
1911	248,995,434	126,776,506	+ 7,377,796	122,218,928	+ 6,138,825
1921	248,120,746	126,878,971	+ 102,465	121,241,775	— 977,153
1931	275,468,432	141,218,490	+14,339,519	134,249,942	+13,008,167
1941	314,804,664	161,807,097	+20,588,607	152,997,567	+18,747,625
1951	356,879,394	183,333,874	+21,526,777	173,545,520	+20,547,953
1961*	439,235,082	226,293,620	+42,959,746	212,941,462	+39,395,942

SOURCES: Census, 1951, Paper No. 1 of 1957, Table A-11, p. 32.

*Census, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962, Table I, p. 5.

the rate of increment is also the same. Nevertheless, there has been a slow decline in sex ratio which stood at 941 females to every one thousand males in 1961 (153, p. 5).

It can be concluded from Tables 1 and 2 that in terms of employment, (i) there will be pressure on the job market both from males and females, and (ii) the competition between the sexes for jobs will increasingly be more brisk. This becomes obvious when the two factors of total increment in population and increment in male and female population growth separately are considered in terms of employment potential.

workers

It is worthy to note that while the population has steadily increased since 1901 it has been accompanied by a steady decline in the labour force. The percentage of the working population to the total population which stood at 46.61 in 1901, 48.07 in 1911, 46.92 in 1921, 43.30 in 1931, 39.10 in 1951 was 42.98 in 1961. Although the percentage in 1961 showed an improvement on the percentage of 1951, it was lower than that of the 1901 percentage. In other words the percentage of non-workers has been constantly increasing (See Table 3).

TABLE 3

Showing the distribution of population according to the working status of both male and female since 1901

Year	Sex	Total Population	Total Workers	Total Non-workers	% of working population to total population	% of non-working population to total population
1901	P	238,979,313	111,393,413	127,585,900	46.61	53.39
	M	121,186,410	74,051,863	47,134,547	61.11	38.89
	F	117,792,903	37,341,550	80,451,353	31.70	68.30
1911	P	252,431,252	121,362,223	131,069,029	48.07	51.93
	M	128,532,902	79,558,756	48,974,146	61.90	38.10
	F	123,898,350	41,803,467	82,094,883	33.73	66.27
1921	P	251,279,625	117,882,175	133,397,450	46.92	53.08
	M	128,530,872	77,784,361	50,746,511	60.52	39.48
	F	122,748,753	40,097,814	82,650,939	32.67	67.33
1931	P	278,579,590	120,644,531	157,935,059	43.30	56.70
	M	142,504,274	83,041,640	59,462,634	58.27	41.73
	F	136,075,316	37,602,891	98,472,425	27.63	72.37
1951	P	356,879,394	139,521,180	217,358,214	39.10	60.90
	M	183,330,538	99,082,627	84,247,911	54.05	45.95
	F	173,548,856	40,438,553	133,110,303	23.30	76.70
1961	P	438,310,251	188,417,362	249,892,889	42.98	57.02
	M	225,843,567	129,015,653	96,827,914	57.12	42.88
	F	212,466,684	59,401,709	153,064,975	27.96	72.03

SOURCES: Census of India, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962, Table 2, p. 395 and Table 3, p. 396.

NOTE: Table 3 shows the grouping of working and non-working population of 1901-51 census in form of the industrial categories of 1961.

This means that employment has not kept pace with the growth in population. The Statesman (465) warns, the phenomenal increase in population will make it difficult to implement the Directive Principles of the Constitution. Against an increase of 77 million more people, making a total of 439 million during the decade work was found for only 30 million

more. "The gap represents hunger, and the gap is widening in spite of considerable development." The population increase has resulted in the reduction of the availability of food, increasing the number of the hungry and the unemployed.

When we focus the population and labour force trends against the survival rate, we will observe that on account of the fall in the rate of death we will not only have more mouths to feed but more hands to employ. The following table shows the birth and death rates since 1901.

TABLE 4

Showing birth and death rates (Decennial averages)

(Per thousand of population)

Decade	Registered		Estimated	
	Birth rate	Death rate	Birth rate	Death rate
1901-10	37	—	48.1	42.6
1911-20	37	34	49.2	48.6
1921-30	34	26	46.4	38.3
1931-40	34	23	45.2	31.2
1941-50	28	20	39.9	27.4
1951-60	22	11	41.7	22.8

SOURCE: India, 1964, Table 4, p. 14.

It will be seen that there is a significant decrease in death rate while the birth rate has remained constant. The infantile mortality compared to industrially advanced countries, however, is still quite high (158, p. 14). On account of the health schemes which the government of India (149) has launched and the improved standards of health more persons will be fit for work. This will give rise to an additional pressure on the employment market.

The following table shows the general life expectancy of the Indian population.

TABLE 5

Showing life expectancy—Decennial position

Decade	Expectation of life at birth	
	Males	Females
1889-1900	23.63	23.96
1901-1910	22.59	23.31
1911-1920	19.42*	20.90*
1921-1930	26.91	26.56
1931-1940	32.09	31.37
1941-1950	33.45*	31.66*
1951-1960	41.90	40.60

SOURCE: India, 1964, Table 6, p. 15.

* Unofficial estimates.

Life expectancy like child survival rate in India compared to industrially advanced countries is still low, yet the gradual improvement in survival rate and life expectancy which has almost doubled since 1889 will mean a longer working life and a larger number of workers available to work for a longer period. The presence of the workers on the job for a longer span of time will render the entry of new workers into the employment market more difficult and vertical mobility slow.

This observation has additional confirmation in the way the age structure of the Indian population is organized. The following table indicates the age structure of the Indian population.

From Table 6 it is evident that the composition of the expanding population gives proportions of 41.1, 43.1, 15.8 for ages 0-14, 15-44 and over 44. Table 6 also shows that the majority of the Indian population is concentrated between the ages 0 to 34, the ratio being 73.2 and 26.8 for ages 0-34

TABLE 6

Showing age structure (1961)

	Age group	Percentage of total population
Infants and young children	0 to 4	15.1
Boys and girls	5 to 14	26.0
Young men and women	15 to 24	16.7
	25 to 34	15.4
Middle-aged men and women	35 to 44	11.0
	45 to 54	8.0
Elderly persons	55 to 64	4.8
	65 to 74	2.1
	75 and over	0.9
Total		100.0

SOURCE: India, 1964, Table 8, p. 15.

and 35-over. It means that the bulk of the workers will be drawn from the age group of 0-34. This will give the work force a youngish look, and a longer stay on the job. While hunger and poverty will drive the population to seek employment at an early age, they will also hold on to the job for a longer period, or unless they are made to retire early. The presence of the youngish people will block the avenues of employment, and clog the channels of promotion. Early retirement and a longer span of retired life will create problems of social welfare. A longer period of employment to counteract the demands for social benefits will further worsen the employment market.

These points are borne out by a report on the working population released by the Registrar General of India (530). The report states:

"Of the 188.67 million workers counted at the 1961 census

7.5% were below 15 years of age . . . A majority of the working population is between 15 and 34. Of the total working force of 188.67 million, about 93·million was in this age group. Thus including child workers, about 58% of India's working population is below 34. Of the remaining working force, 81 million workers are above 34, and 12 million are above 60. There are 15 million child workers in the country out of whom 10.58 million are engaged in agriculture and in domestic service in urban areas. This is also true of the 12 million workers above 60, two-thirds of whom are also engaged in agriculture."

"As regards present entry into service, most workers appear to enter the industrial field between 21 and 25 years. After the age of 40 there is a gradual decline in the frequency of workers. However, there is seldom any upper age limit. Workers drag on even beyond the age of 55 and retire voluntarily or are discharged, mostly without earning pensions" (141, p. 33). This, in the light of the age composition as suggested above, will indicate that as longevity will increase and standards of public health will improve a larger percentage of elderly persons will remain in the labour force. Unless they are occupationally provided for, the state is to face the problem of indirectly supporting them through social security or by other means.

The distribution of the workers in the three main fields of employment will throw light on how the manpower is organized in India.

Several things are obvious from Table 7. First, there is a gradual, though slow but persistent, shift from primary sector to secondary and tertiary sectors. In other words, more employment opportunities are occurring in secondary and tertiary sectors to draw workers away from the primary sector. Secondly, there is a sharp increase among male and female workers between 1951-61, although as pointed out before the increase is not proportionate to the increase in population, and thirdly, the increase in the number of women workers is very significant.

TABLE 7

Indices of worker participation by sex in three sectors of workers, 1901-1961—All India (1901=100) in each item

Year	Sex	Population in labour force age group (15-59)	Workers			
			Total workers	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector
1911	P	107.75	108.94	113.67	96.12	97.57
	M	108.61	107.44	112.46	95.78	95.32
	F	106.89	111.94	115.95	96.74	103.87
1921	P	106.22	105.82	112.09	87.29	92.05
	M	107.69	105.04	111.27	89.71	90.63
	F	104.73	107.37	113.62	82.83	96.03
1931	P	118.84	108.30	112.84	87.64	104.17
	M	120.90	112.13	118.05	95.00	100.30
	F	116.75	100.69	103.08	74.07	114.98
1951	P	144.37	126.50	127.28	106.35	139.20
	M	147.74	135.16	132.81	126.88	150.57
	F	140.91	109.34	116.91	68.54	107.41
1961	P	169.00	169.15	170.40	156.85	173.33
	M	173.30	174.22	168.33	179.46	194.46
	F	164.70	159.08	174.28	115.19	114.26

SOURCE: Census of India, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962, p. 400, Table 8.

women workers

The following table shows that according to the census figures of 1961, 81.58 % of total female workers are in agriculture and allied activities (Primary sector), 9.59 % in household industry, manufacturing and construction (Secondary sector), and only 8.83 in trade and commerce, transport, storage and communication, and services (Tertiary sector).

TABLE 8

Percentage distribution of workers by sex, in three broad sectors, 1901-1961.

Year	Sex	Total workers	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector
1901	Persons	100	71.76	12.61	15.63
	Males	100	70.37	12.31	17.32
	Females	100	74.46	13.25	12.29
1911	Persons	100	74.86	11.13	14.01
	Males	100	73.66	10.97	15.37
	Females	100	77.14	11.45	11.41
1921	Persons	100	75.99	10.41	13.60
	Males	100	74.54	10.51	14.95
	Females	100	78.80	10.21	10.99
1931	Persons	100	74.75	10.21	15.04
	Males	100	74.08	10.43	15.49
	Females	100	76.23	9.74	14.03
1951	Persons	100	72.12	10.62	17.26
	Males	100	69.08	11.59	19.33
	Females	100	79.57	8.26	12.17
1961	Persons	100	72.28	11.70	16.02
	Males	100	67.98	12.68	19.34
	Females	100	81.58	9.59	8.83

SOURCES: Census of India, 1961, Paper 1 of 1962, p. XXV, Statement 18.

The table shows that while only 67.98% of the total male workers is in the Primary sector, the female participation has risen to 81.58%. In other words, the chief industry in which female workers are employed is agriculture. In the Secondary and Tertiary sectors, female participation is 9.59% and 8.83% against male participation of 12.68% and 19.34% respectively. This means that the number of male workers has shown a decline in the Primary sector and a definite increment in the Secondary and Tertiary sectors, while the number of women workers has shown a reverse trend. The percentage of women

workers to total working population has shown a significant downward trend in the Tertiary sector, a slight improvement in the Secondary sector and maximum increase in the Primary sector. It can be inferred, therefore, that enough employment opportunities for female workers in the Tertiary sector are just not available.

The distribution of female labour force by major occupational groups tends to show that in 1951, 1.7 per cent of the labour force was employed in professional, technical and related fields; 0.1 per cent in managerial, administrative, clerical and related fields; 3.3 per cent in sales; 76.6 were farmers, fishermen, hunters, lumbermen and related workers; 7.7 per cent were craftsmen, production process and unclassified workers; and 10.6 per cent were service workers. This shows that the participation of female workers in white-collar jobs is still very small. But when we project these percentages against the total percentages of the labour force, we will find that the female participation in these jobs has become very significant (190).

Most women in the professional and technical fields are teachers, nurses, telephone operators and office secretaries, occupations for long traditionally recognized as "women's jobs". Women are also significantly represented in non-manual jobs, because of the increasing employment of women in clerical and sales occupations. It is also significant that women are only thinly represented in the group of craftsmen, production workers and labourers. These two trends, upwards in non-manual jobs and downwards in production jobs, will continue to reflect increasingly in the female labour force in the future.

On account of the encroachment by women on the employment market the competition for jobs between the sexes, has become a subject of dialogue between males and females in the columns of the newspapers. Women demand a still greater representation and participation in jobs and also certain privileges such as maternity leave etc. Men resist the demands on the grounds of paucity of suitable jobs for men.

This resentment is adequately voiced by Bhattacharya as follows (25):

"For the progress of society, full employment among men is desired first. Women are getting jobs in commercial houses and thereby forcing more qualified men to remain unemployed. What strange progress society is making indeed! . . . I only say that there are possibilities of broken homes or at least a lack of harmony in the home. . . . By trying to think, behave and act like men they will never be men, and, at the same time, will only make themselves imperfect caricatures of womanhood. They will lose their essential qualities for which a man marries a woman and wants a home with one and bring happiness to either sex."

The consequences of women working in large numbers are already apparent from the newspaper reports. There is a fear that if mothers are separated from children before they reach the schoolgoing age, increase in juvenile delinquency and domestic disharmony will prevail. Suggestions for part-time work are therefore being made by married women and mothers (316). Majumdar suggests (247) that the employment pattern should be reorganized so as to keep special fields where feminine capabilities can be best exploited if at all women are required to work with men. Working hours should be shortened or adjusted so as not to clash with essential domestic chores. A large number of kindergarten or shantiniketan type of children's day homes should be opened to take care of the "children during our absence so that the young ones do not grow up with a sense of neglect and frustration".

The strongest plea for female employment has come from Sen (377), who mentions the names of Arati Saha (née Arati Gupta), the channel swimmer, Gita Chanda, the parachutist, Durga Bannerji, the commercial pilot and Anima Sengupta, the deceased mountaineer, among the illustrious women of India such as Chand Sultana, Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi and Pandita Ramabai as well as a host of outstanding women

thrown up by the national freedom movement. He regrets that the emancipation of women lags outside the cities where women's place is still in the home. There are also a large number of men and women who advocate the complete emancipation of women, parity in pay with men and facilities so that women may become equal partners with men in work.

The most scathing criticism of the New Hindu working girl, however, has come from the powerful pen of Nirad C. Choudhari (62), who is reluctant to accept intellectual and emotional reasons as valid assumptions for women to work. He is of the strong opinion that "women can find salvation through marriage only and work is a mere cover for sensuality."

The conflicting reactions in Hindu society against a working girl, which is a phenomenon of very recent origin are natural. It is pointed out by Mrs Lakshmi N. Menon, the ex-minister of state for external affairs (498), "The idea of women leaving the kitchen to work is a recent phenomenon. The country owes a lot to missionaries for the education of women and for spreading the idea of employment of women." It therefore calls for an attitude change on the part of the male sex to accept women's employment as an inevitable phenomenon of the technological society and an understanding on the part of the women that male jealousy is an unavoidable reflection of the lack of occupational opportunities.

non-manual workers

The other trend which has significant implication for the employment market is the increase of non-manual workers. The factors and attitudes which are reflected in non-manual jobs are considered to be the notion that a gentleman or a lady does not work with the hands. The rise of this class however, is a world-wide phenomenon and has been aggravated by increase in population, expansion in education and advance in industrialization. The number of non-manual workers is going to increase rather than decrease in the future.

With the development of the tertiary level of employment there will be ever-increasing openings in non-manual jobs.

Referring to the importance of non-manual workers in the present-day society, the I.L.O. report (196, p. 73) says, "Not only are these workers becoming more and more numerous both absolutely and relatively in comparison with manual workers; they are also, because of the specialized skills and experience required in many non-manual occupations, an essential factor in the proper functioning of an industrial economy." Public services, industry, trade, commerce, communications, transport—all these offer opportunities for non-manual work. The non-manual workers in fact include persons from a wide variety of professions and occupations with divergent problems and conditions of work.

The progressive increase in the number of manual workers will be obvious from the following tables.

TABLE 9

Employment in Railways and Posts and Telegraphs as on 31st March of each year, 1949-1960 and Index Number of base 1951=100.

Year	Railways		Posts and Telegraphs	
	Employment	Index Base 1951	Employment	Index Base 1951
1949	9,30,018	100.8	1,67,701	86.8
1950	8,99,275	97.5	1,74,230	90.1
1951	9,22,791	100.0	1,93,302	100.0
1952	9,31,829	101.0	2,12,380	109.9
1953	9,30,951	100.9	2,36,230	122.2
1954	9,65,292	104.6	2,41,807	125.1
1955	9,90,123	107.3	2,61,816	135.4
1956	10,30,745	111.7	2,82,405	146.1
1957	10,62,996	115.2	2,87,349	148.6
1958	11,18,848	121.2	3,08,618	159.7
1959	11,55,324	125.2	3,27,627	169.5
1960	11,59,602	125.7	3,54,178	183.2

Source: Indian Labour Statistics, 1961, p. 45, Table 2.15.

Railways, Posts and Telegraph departments are among the largest establishments employing non-manual workers. Table 9 shows that there has been a steady though small increase in the number of workers employed in these two establishments. This is also true of the employment in shops, commercial establishments, restaurants and cinemas, which together employed 10,41,806 persons in 1959 (150).

Another field in which a concentration of white-collar workers is to be found is the government. The following table shows the employment of the non-manual workers in Central Government Establishments.

TABLE 10

Employment in Central Government Establishments (excluding Railways, armed forces, Embassies, and Missions abroad) as in December each year, 1951-60.

December Each Year	Adminis- trative & Executive	Clerical	Skilled & Semi- skilled	Unskilled	Total
1951	54,814	1,42,850	1,45,304	2,47,694	5,90,662
1952	58,555	1,50,870	1,45,455	2,60,613	6,15,493
1953	58,583	1,54,364	1,56,103	2,47,161	6,16,211
1954	56,680	1,64,067	1,59,282	2,52,707	6,32,636
1955	52,935	1,98,553	1,59,427	2,45,926	6,47,841
1956	67,021	2,14,009	1,46,790	2,41,619	6,69,439
1957	68,454	2,32,029	1,47,428	2,41,360	6,89,271
1958	73,801	2,39,577	1,57,419	2,43,471	7,14,259
1959	78,045	2,48,815	1,63,634	2,49,047	7,39,542
1960	79,298	2,51,661	1,67,265	2,55,277	7,53,501

SOURCE: Indian Labour Statistics, 1961, p. 46, Table 2.17.

Table 10 confirms the trend of the enlargement of the white-collar job market, although the yearly increment is very small. In the categories of administrative, executive and clerical, the growth of white-collar jobs in the Government

of India establishments seems to have slowed down since 1959.

The number of Class II and Class III employees according to the figures furnished to the Second Pay Commission are 756 and 224,422, respectively in Railways, and 932 and 146,-631 respectively, in Posts and Telegraphs. The total number of employees, excluding highly paid staff and manual workers, were thus 225,178 in Railways and 147,563 in Posts and Telegraphs.

The Life Insurance Corporation of India, on its formation, took over about 21,000 employees of whom 16,000 were in the clerical and supervisory cadre. On 31 December 1957 there were 30,768 employees, of whom 5,222 were field officers and 19,588 supervisory and clerical staff, the rest being Class I officers and subordinate staff. On 30 September 1959, the number of field officers was 5,162 and that of the supervisory and clerical staff was 23,721 (196).

The field of employment which has provided the greatest scope for the educated, and in which women workers have the greatest representation is education (152). Table 11 shows the growth of the number of teachers since 1949.

TABLE 11

Showing the growth in the number of teachers since 1949

Year	Men	Women	Total
1949-50	6,47,108	1,16,666	7,63,774
1950-51	6,82,170	1,21,351	8,03,521
1951-52	7,18,856	1,34,425	8,53,281
1952-53	7,47,887	1,48,095	8,95,982
1953-54	7,97,606	1,57,788	9,55,394
1954-55	8,61,467	1,70,568	10,32,035
1955-56	9,20,407	1,86,128	11,06,535
1956-57	9,66,623	2,03,091	11,69,714
1957-58	10,11,175	2,20,238	12,31,413
1958-59	10,66,728	2,41,370	13,08,098

SOURCE: First Year Book of Education 1961, Table 15, p. 925.

It is obvious from Table 11 that during these ten years the teacher population has increased by 50%. The population of female teachers has increased 100%. One-fifth of the total teacher population is female.

characteristics of the working force

The Second Enquiry Committee Report on agricultural labour (148) states ten characteristics, among which the following two characteristics have an important bearing on the employment market: (a) A feature which is exceptional to Indian agricultural labour is the lack of a clear-cut distinction among the different categories of agriculturists and, therefore, no distinct employer-employee relationship exists in agriculture except in the case of landholders and the farm hands they employ. This absence of employer-employee relationship is the main feature of the agricultural economy which distinguishes it from industry, and (b) another distinguishing feature is the unorganized nature of the agricultural labour, and its migratory character. In busy seasons, agricultural labour migrates from regions where labour is relatively plentiful to regions where it is in short supply or to factories as unskilled hands. They shuttle between the village and the city and form the floating population (238).

The bulk of our industrial labour is drawn from the villages and hence retains its village nexus. Under-employment and unemployment in agriculture, indebtedness, low agricultural wages and caste stigma operate as push factors in driving the workers out of their villages to the cities. There are also certain pull factors such as anonymity, better wages and the diversions which the cities provide to draw workers from villages to the cities (193). Even the labour which has found gainful occupations in factories retains its village connections, which the workers renew periodically by visits (141). Nevertheless, the industrial labour force in India today is growing in both size and importance with industrialization, and is better organized than the agricultural labour.

Yet, another feature of the Indian working force is the lack of discipline and poor performance, which Myers (292, p. 178) suggests may also be the "consequence of inadequate managerial policies and legal requirements, which limit managerial flexibility in utilizing labour." The indiscipline and poor performance make Indian labour cost higher than hourly or monthly wage comparisons with other countries would indicate (355). To this can be added the fact that increase in the working population without gainful occupations, which, over periods of time and deprivation, results in lowering the physical standards of fitness and standards in efficiency.

conclusions

1. The phenomenal growth of population is not accompanied with a proportionate growth in the labour force. On the contrary there is a gradual decline in the number of working people.

2. The decrease in the number of working people is due to the inability of the present industry to absorb more people and also the slow expansion of the industrial base.

3. The Indian industrial labour force is youngish and is characterized by a lower rate of fall-off. This will result in a lack of openings for the new entrants into the present labour force, longer stay of the workers on the top, and decreasing opportunities for the younger persons for promotion and entry into higher level jobs which are already very limited in number. Improvement in the standards of public health will enable workers to live longer and work longer too. This will not only aggravate the unemployment problem but will also result in frustration.

4. The entry of women in large numbers in the labour force will not only oust men from some of the occupations, but will also influence life in the work plant and at home. Labour unions and their techniques of organization as well as manufacturing techniques will feel the impact of their participation

in work. Competition between sexes for high level jobs will also sharpen up.

5. Employment of educated women in white-collar jobs will increasingly raise male jealousy and hostility. Demand for parity and special privileges for women workers will shy away employers from offering employment to women, which will reduce the occupational opportunities for women.

6. The demand for white-collar jobs will multiply. There is already a swelling tide of workers in non-manual occupations. In the absence of the new openings and the declining fall-off rate in the present labour force, not only will there be unemployment, but there will also be absence of occupational mobility both vertical and horizontal. Young men will not be able to shift from one profession to another or move in the same profession upward for improving their economic or social position. The dream of the socialistic pattern of society as envisaged in the Indian Constitution will remain unrealized for many more decades to come.

7. In spite of the bulk of the industrial labour force still being village-oriented, there is evidence of a clear shift from agricultural to industrial and white-collar occupations. Industrialization seems to have influenced the job market. Labour permanently committed to the industrial way of life different from the agricultural way of life has come into existence and today is growing in size and importance.

Work Factors

WHETHER the employment potential will shrink or expand and whether the required number and quality of individuals will be available for jobs depend on a number of factors. The sheer availability of jobs or of men does not ensure a proper distribution of human resources. The world of work has its own laws; in some of the job sectors there is a surplus of jobs while in others there is a shortage of manpower. Similarly, some occupations attract more workers than others. Individuals are also influenced by certain factors in the choice of work. Those factors which influence both individuals and the world of work are: Cultural pattern of the people, Educational system and sex. Industrialization, war and peace, national and natural calamities, trade cycles, fashion changes, technological changes, unionism, public policies, localization, urbanism, supply and demand, and chronic unemployment, are additional factors which considerably influence both workers and the world of work.

cultural pattern

The first and foremost factor which sets the pace of work is the cultural pattern of the people. The cultural pattern can be defined in terms of attitudes and values which influence the selection of occupations and are derived from religious caste and family alignments.

The number of religions as professed by the Indians in 1961 census are shown in the Table 1.

It is obvious from Table 1 that the great bulk of the Indian

TABLE I

Percentage of major religious communities to total population in 1961

Religious community	Population	Percentage to total population
Buddhist	32,50,227	0.74
Christian	1,07,26,350	2.44
Hindu	36,65,02,878	83.51
Jain	20,27,267	0.46
Muslim	4,69,39,357	10.69
Sikh	78,45,170	1.79
Others	16,06,964	0.37
TOTAL	43,92,34,771	100

SOURCE: India (An Annual Reference), 1964, p. 18, Table 13.

population is either Hindu or Muslim. The latter form 10 per cent of the total population. There are 47 million Muslims in India in spite of the creation of a separate home for them in Pakistan. The Muslims are followed by the Christians which is the third largest religious community. While most of the Muslims and Christians are the descendants of converts from Hinduism, generally from the lower castes who have retained their caste attitudes over and above the egalitarian elements in their adopted religions, the other three Indian religions namely Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism arose largely as a reaction against the caste domination of the Brahmins. The remainder consists of the minority community of Zoroastrians and other religions labelled vicariously as "Tribal and non-Tribal" but often "Aboriginal Tribes". Those tribes consist of Hindus, Christians, and even Muslims though the majority follow particularistic religions in which the emphasis is on spirit-worship. Such is the religious spectrum of the Indian people which not only moulds the pattern of thought but also acts as the dynamics of occupation.

There are some occupations which ignore religious and caste boundaries while others are undertaken by members of a particular religion or caste. Slaughtering as a profession is undertaken by Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and lower caste Hindus but is tabooed by the Jains. Usury is forbidden to the Muslims while Marwaris who generally belong to Jainism negate their religious tenets in their business dealings by being "hard-headed forestallers and usurers" (403, p. 130).

The principal field of occupational activity in India is agriculture. It does not impinge upon the religious susceptibilities of any racial or caste members. It, therefore, attracts persons irrespective of race, religion and caste. The caste in the agricultural hierarchy is determined by wealth and position more than creed. High caste status is associated with "landownership or superior rights on the land, a higher living standard and ban on manual labour". The gradation of peasants and agricultural castes fill up the middle ranks, the field labourers occupy the lowest status with agrestic serfs. The artisan castes are organised in accordance with their importance to the village economy, the more important of them assuming a clean status (259, p. 292).

A parallel hierarchy of castes and caste division is obtainable in the industrial set-up also (141). Assigned to the lowest rungs of the industrial ladder are the tribal people and low caste groups who also form the large bulk of landless labourers, during seasons meandering between field and factory and between city and village. In the coal mines the largest single group are the Bauris of very low social status. The next largest group are the Santhals. The Chamars, Mahars, Kolis, Pasis, Lunyas, Panchamas, Dheds, and Saibbs are other low castes which have drifted into industry. There is also a sprinkling of the members of other castes in the bulk of labour which forms the unskilled category. The cultivating and the labouring castes, however, predominate amongst the skilled workers. In U. P. the labourers are Muslims and Chamars. In Madras State the labour is mainly from the depressed classes, agriculturists and Indian Christians (230). "The mineral re-

sources of Bengal and Bihar, areas of concentrated production were first developed by aboriginal and semi-aboriginal labour and these tribes along with other exterior castes still supply the bulk of the workers" (238, p. 93).

The counterpart of caste alignment and caste division in agriculture and industry, is communal alignment and communal division in business and services. The three minority communities contribute the maximum share of entrepreneurship in Indian industry. These three communities are: Parsees, Gujratis and Marwaris. The first community to move into manufacturing industry were the Parsees who were originally cotton merchants and had no traditionally fixed occupations. Spate (403) points out that the Parsees like the Quakers have an altogether disproportionate share of economic activity. Again like the Quakers they are essentially a professional and upper middle-class group. The transition from merchant to manufacturer was repeated by the members of the Gujrati trading caste who moved into the cotton-spinning and weaving industry. Historically, the second transition has been from money-lending to industrial enterprise. The Marwaris who were originally money-lending castes became business entrepreneurs (292). The Sikhs, although in a minority, have proportionately a greater representation in skilled jobs and in the armed forces because of their rigorous religious discipline.

Christians numbering 11 million include Anglo-Indians, and 'others' mainly Europeans. Anglo-Indians were predominantly employed in the railways. The privileged position of the Anglo-Indians, however, has now vanished but they have been able to create a position in the Indian society by their cohesion. They have not an inconsiderable lead in technical education and aptitude. They are employed in significant numbers in European concerns and factories. Europeans are mainly business-men in the towns. There are very few officials, mainly technicians. The biggest group are those in Calcutta and Bombay; up-country there are a few missionaries and the planters in Assam.

Caste in India is all-pervasive (279). It influences politics (437,

506, 557), opinion (255), crime (471), Panchayati Raj (460), names of educational institutions (468), university life (526), selection of candidates for jobs (462, 463,) marriage (357) and ministerial posts (478). "In the rural areas today, the influence of caste on individual and collective action and thought in the villages is as apparent and as unchanged as it was three decades ago" (503). In urban areas caste influence although waning is still powerful (524, 540).

The system which has been so vehemently condemned by Spate (403), considered a hindrance in the development of a stable work force by Myers (292) and supported by Lorenzo (239), if instead of being abolished or legislated out, could be understood and controlled, so as to become a key to the comprehension of the dynamics of occupational choice. In fact, choice of an occupation is extensively determined by the values and attitudes fostered by caste mores and traditions. The skills which are transmitted from one generation to another in the caste setting, become a veritable possession of the individuals in the form of interests and aptitudes which can be further developed and crystallized by education and training.

Besides religion and caste there is local patriotism which also affects the world of work (444, 456). Local patriotism debars the extra territorial talent from proliferating the local economic and social structure, thus rendering national talent unproductive and local talent staghant. It depresses the spirit of adventure and talent of entrepreneurship among individuals and encourages placement of candidates in unsuitable positions.

joint family system

The joint family is one of the ancient institutions in India. "It has provided the link of continuity in the evolution of Indian culture from Mohenjo-daro to the present day" (58, p. 15). Unlike in the West, where the biological family is considered as a unit, in India the more widely prevalent type of family is the larger joint-or-extended family which includes children and children's children excluding the married daughters. The prin-

cipal feature of the joint-family is the joint-ownership of the means of production and dispensation of the legitimate needs of individual members. The joint-family acts both as the protector as well as the spoiler of the individual.

The authoritarian structure of the joint-family acts on the individual in diverse ways. It teaches the individual subservience to authority by enthroning authority at every stage of the individual's life and sometimes it makes the individual hostile to authority. Like the caste system, the joint-family also expels those who revolt against it. It teaches dependence and rewards those who submit it. This has resulted in the paucity of individual initiative and has increased dependence on authority in getting things done. Dr. Prasad, the former President, in his farewell speech deplored the people's habit of depending on the government for everything. "As I travel about," he said, "I see people losing all self-dependence and initiative" (453). The authoritarian structure of the family and the attitude of dependence are further reinforced by the authoritarian structure of our development schemes (461).

The full impact of the joint-family system, however, like caste is felt in the monopolization of positions in business and industry. As the family contributes its labour in agriculture, services and in the lower echelons of industrial labour, so also does it contribute and control the upper echelons of managerial positions in big business and industry. Substantially all Indian agencies large and small are family concerns. Typically business partners are related by blood or marriage, and even the lower ranks of management are filled from within the family or subcaste whenever possible. Today eight Marwari families, some of them related by marriage, hold 565 directorships in Indian industry, banking and insurance. M. M. Mehta as stated by Myers (292) also points to a group of 25 agencies controlling more than 600 firms in 1951. Dr. Hazari (442) indicates 300 companies under one group and they ranged from sugar and jute mills, banks and insurance companies to newspaper publications. He also added that the companies under the same group were subject to "the

decision-making power of a common authority" which controlled the management of those companies.

The joint-family control also has resulted in the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. It is pointed out by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis (475) that it is only 1 per cent India's privileged class—which in turn is 1 per cent of the total population—that really owns and controls the bulk of the nation's wealth. More than half the privately owned share capital in India is owned by only 14,000 houses. It is further pointed out (249) that "no more than 14 business houses control two-thirds of the total share capital in the private sector . . . More than half the total private investment belongs to only a half per cent of the country's shareholders. And the control of a few large business houses covers the whole range of industries from steel to soap and tea to tinplate . . . five banks control a third of the total paid-up capital and more than half the total deposits with private banks."

To sum up, we find that the cultural pattern of the people in terms of religion, caste and joint-family exert a powerful influence on the concentration of wealth and power, and of workers in certain jobs while the weakening of these institutions results in the dispersal of workers into other fields of activities and the creation of an industrial labour force. The Labour Investigation Committee Report (141) points out that the steadily crumbling away of the old institutions of social security, such as the village, the joint-family and the caste, has increased the ranks of the landless labourers, most of whom are compelled to remain and settle in the town, thus giving birth to an industrial proletariat. The family control of Indian business and industry has resulted not only in preventing the cross-fertilization of talent, curbing the individual initiative in entrepreneurship but also in narrowing the occupational horizons.

educational system

In ancient India education was meant to train the boys of different castes so that they were able to carry out their special

caste occupations (55). In other words, education in spite of its caste bias was work-oriented, and prepared young persons for their different avocations in life. This aim again has been considered important in the formulation of educational policies by the Secondary Education Commission (134, p. 23) for improving the students' "practical and vocational efficiency so that they may play their part in building up the economic prosperity of their country".

An estimate of the extent to which educational progress has been made during 1947-61 in India is well displayed in the *First Year Book of Education* (152). The following table gives the growth of enrolment at the primary, secondary and university stages during the post-independence period.

TABLE 2

Enrolment in elementary, secondary and university education

Year	Enrolment in classes I-V (in lakhs)	Enrolment in VI-VIII (in lakhs)	Year	Enrolment in Secondary Schools (in lakhs)	Enrolment in Arts, Science and Commerce Colleges (in lakhs)
1946-47	141.1	20.4			
1950-51	191.5	31.2	1949-50	10.83	3.31
1955-56	251.7	42.9	1958-59	27.78	8.00
1960-61	343.4	62.9	1960-61	29.1	9.00
(Plan Targets)					
1965-66	496.4	97.5	1965-66	45.4	13.00

SOURCE: *First Year Book of Education, 1961*, Tables 1, 3, & 4 on pp. 790, 798 & 806.

It is obvious from Table 2 that there has been an enormous increase in the enrolment of students at every stage of education accompanied with an appalling wastage on school level and concentration on college level. For the single year 1960-61 where comparable figures are available, it will be noted that

while one out of every three students who enrol at high school reaches the college level, only one out of every twelve students who enrol at primary school level reaches the high school.

As to the increase in the enrolment of students and the female participation in education, the report of the University Grants Commission for the period April 1960-March 1961 (450) says that the enrolment in the Indian universities and colleges and institutions deemed to be universities which numbered 46 was one million. The admission figures for 1960-1961 represented an increase of more than 200,000 during the preceding five years. While the enrolment of men increased during the period only by 12.5 %, the percentage of increase in the enrolment of women in 1960-1961 compared to 1956-1957 was 16.2 %.

Focused against the background of the enormous rise in the enrolment of liberal arts and commerce colleges, the enrolment in colleges of professional and technical education is insignificant. The following table shows both enrolment in liberal arts and commerce colleges and colleges of professional and technical education.

TABLE 3

Total enrolment in institutions of Higher Education (In Lakhs)

Year	Enrolment in Arts & Science Colleges (including Intermediate Colleges)	Enrolment in Colleges of Professional and Technical Education
1946-47	2.12	0.44
1949-50	2.99	0.79
1958-59	7.34	2.02
1960-61 (Estimates)	8.40	2.50
1965-66 (Targets)	12.20	4.20

SOURCE: Table No. IV from *First Year Book of Education, 1961*, p. 806.

It will be seen from Table 3 that while the proposed targets for enrolment in Arts and Science Colleges for 1965-66 are 50

per cent more than the estimates for 1960-61, for Professional and Technical Colleges it is twice that of the 1960-61; but only one-third that of arts and science. A further breakdown of the statistics for professional and technical colleges is rather revealing.

TABLE 4

*Enrolment and output of students of Professional and Technical Colleges for 1957-58
for which complete data are available*

Description	Enrolment			Output (Degrees & Equivalent Diplomas)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Agriculture	9,211	62	9,273	1,538	4	1,542
Commerce	62,712	494	63,206	11,492	90	11,582
Engineering	24,970	53	25,023	4,206	1	4,207
Law	22,084	481	22,565	5,711	155	5,866
Medical	24,993	5,242	30,235	3,154	708	3,862
Physical Edu.	535	116	651	249	56	305
Technology	2,949	9	2,958	630	3	633
Forestry	512	—	512	204	—	204
T. Training	14,644	7,407	22,051	9,937	4,057	13,994
Veterinary	4,860	32	4,892	581	3	584

SOURCE: *First Year Book of Education 1961*, Tables No. 36 to No. 45, pp. 952-61.

Table 4 is revealing in several ways: (i) The highest enrolment is in Commerce and Law Colleges and so is the output—the two fields which are least important for industrialization of the country and (ii) representation of girl students is available in some fields only. They are represented mostly in Teachers' Training, Medical, Law and Commerce courses of study, which bring out the pattern of female higher education. Colleges are turning out more graduates than can be absorbed in occupations increasing the middle-class educated unemployed (142, 196). According to a survey made by the Institute of Manpower Research (511) there will be a surplus of 30,000 engineers during the Fourth Plan period, if the revised

Third Plan targets for the expansion of engineering colleges and polytechnics were reached by 1965.

Thus, a source of chronic unemployment is our educational system being diversified and yet directed along a single channel, largely unrelated to the economic development of the country (446). This has resulted in persons holding higher qualifications taking on a line intended primarily for those with lower qualifications, thus displacing persons with lower qualifications from the jobs intended for them and using persons with a higher potential in jobs requiring persons with a lower potential (138).

The absence of a professional bias in education led the Sampuranand Committee (473) to recommend the Ministry of Education to undertake perspective planning in relating the pattern of education to the employment potential of the country and the *Statesman* (489), in view of the indiscriminate admissions to colleges, has recommended a curb on college admissions.

sex

Sex acts both as a determining as well as a distributive factor in many occupations. In Plantation industries there are certain processes in which either women are employed exclusively or in large numbers. In plucking the tea leaf, women are considered more efficient than men. In South India leaf plucking can be said to be the exclusive field of women (196). This is true of shelling cashew nuts, also.

Occupations in which women workers are concentrated differ markedly from those in which most men find employment. In the great majority of countries women are in the largest proportion among service workers, accounting for between 50 per cent and 80 per cent of all service workers. Also in the great majority of countries, women form a high proportion (31 to 50 per cent) of all professional and technical workers; most women in this group are teachers and nurses, occupations traditionally recognised as "women's jobs."

Women are also strongly represented among managerial,

administrative, sales and clerical workers. In most countries women comprise one-third to one-half of the total work force of these groups; they outnumber men in Austria (sales group), Finland (sales and clerical groups) and Great Britain (administrative and clerical groups).

There are also industries to which women are barred.

It is significant that women are only thinly represented in the group of craftsmen, production workers and labourers. In all countries women form less than 30 per cent of the workers in this group, and in most countries (including Canada, Sweden and the United States) less than 20 per cent (190).

It is not only in terms of occupations but also in terms of educational courses that the sex factor acts as a determinant. In the fields in which representation figures of the girl students are available, it is obvious that they are represented mostly in Teachers' Training, Medical, Law and Commerce courses of study, which lead to intellectual professions or non-manual jobs (152).

industrialization

Industrialization influences the job market in two ways: It destroys, on the one hand, many of the old occupations because of mechanization; on the other hand it creates new hierarchies of occupations by the development of new processes of manufacture and allied industries. "Those who merely follow population, provide personal service or replace expendable trifles (such as pots) manage at least to carry on; but it is clear that many have little staying power in face of competition of the machine, whether it is sited in Manchester or in Ahmedabad" (403, p. 246). The cottage industry thus lost in competition to large-scale industry. The report of the All-India and Village Industry Board points out that in cotton textiles the absolute figure of employment had fallen from over 33 lakhs in 1911 to 27 lakhs in 1951. The decline was largely due to the establishment of mills for cotton ginning, cleaning, and pressing, and of cotton spinning, sizing and weaving (254). At the

same time, the power-driven industrialization in England, which was fed on the agricultural produce of India, encouraged plantation industry and monopolistic industries like jute and the railways which laid the foundations for the development of the large-scale industries later on.

The other feature of industrialization is that it leads to an increase in the number of persons engaged in the secondary and tertiary sectors. The rate of growth of employment is related not only to the expansion of industrial output but also to the establishment of new and ancillary industries, which rise for processing the by-products of the principal articles of production. Employment opportunities expand both in manufacturing and sales giving rise to the development of the tertiary sector.

Although there may be no exact correlation between the rate of industrial development and the change in occupational distribution, there is a fairly general tendency for the relative importance of agricultural employment to decline and that of factory employment to increase. Between 1870 and 1903 for instance, the proportion of the working people engaged in agriculture declined from 54 to 23 per cent in the United States, from 42 to 25 per cent in France, from 85 to 51 in Japan; in Germany there was a decrease from 39 to 22 per cent between 1880 and 1930 and in the United Kingdom from 15 per cent in 1870 to a mere 7 per cent in 1920. The expansion of secondary industry and the tertiary sector usually result in relative increase in the number of wage earners.

The rate of transfer of workers from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors in India is still not clearly discernible, and yet there are indications in the 1961 census statistics (424) that in spite of the slow decrease in the agricultural labour, there is a gradual and progressive increase in the rate of change of workers in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Or in other words there does seem to be a small but definite shift from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors. There is also an increase in the number of wage earners in the last two sectors.

war and peace

Another factor which influences the occupational world is war and peace. A boom generally sets in on account of war. During the war period the old industries are expanded and new industries are established which open up a vast new field for employment. On account of the flow of fresh capital, construction work both industrial and military gives a fillip to employment growth both being mutually reinforcing (199). Considerable progress was effected in industrial production the fillip for which came from World War I. The total number of factories increased from 2,936 in 1914 to 11,613 in 1939 and the number of workers engaged in them increased from 9,50,000 to 17,50,000 lakhs (227). The Second World War witnessed a hothouse growth of employment in the country. Millions had been enlisted in the Defence Forces and Auxiliary Services, and also in large-scale and cottage industries. The economy of India more or less approximated to the idea of full employment (141).

The extension of the Armed forces becomes essential whenever there is war. Crash training programmes are put through to cope with the country's need for trained manpower to the extent of the offering of temporary commissions to civilians. Women in great numbers are called upon to assist in the war effort. During World War II, especially during the later years of the war, a large number of Indian women joined the services. At least about 10,000 women were trained apart from the nursing services and other medical services. The Service women worked in Intelligence and Security, in Public Relations, Publicity, Recruiting, Communications; they served on Selection Boards, and as trained auxiliaries and ratings. Many took over charge of whole establishments from men (172). Women also worked in the Second World War as clerks, radiologists, drivers, caterers, signallers and draughtsmen also as plotters and tellers (to track enemy aircraft) in which Nepalese girls from Kalimpong and Kurseong excelled (362).

The transition from war to peace results in the closure of

many of the factories which were either running extra shifts, extended or set up for meeting war needs. The shutting down of factories may also happen because of the wear and tear of the machines on account of the strain of constant working during the war period. The after-effects of war however, to a great degree, can be controlled by economic planning. Nevertheless, a large number of persons are thrown out of employment on account of the closing down of the factories and demobilization of the armed forces.

The reversion from war to peace calls for a readjustment of the employment market, including the re-employment of demobilized personnel and rehabilitation of the injured. In the face of the spectre of mass unemployment people offer their services on lower wages. Moreover, during war-time, the workers in some industries at least, as well as in Defence, were able to obtain higher wages and became used to a higher standard of life. In peace-time they are to accept a lower wage and a lower standard of life. The employment of a large number of persons on a lower wage affects the future prospects of all those who enter the job market in later years. Those who were employed in the pre-war period or are retained in service even during peace-time rise higher than those who are either re-employed or join employment for the first time during the depression years (414).

national and natural calamities

National and natural calamities are other factors which precipitate a vast number of workers out of employment. The partition of the sub-continent of India in 1947 deprived a million persons of work. India obtained 77 per cent of the total area of the undivided country with 82 per cent of the total population, 91 per cent of the total number of individual establishments and 93 per cent of the total number of workers employed. It involved a large-scale migration of skilled labour from India to Pakistan. Consequently, the hosiery and woollen industry, the glass factory, engineering concerns and metal works of India felt the

dearth of skilled labour due to the departure of Muslims. On the contrary, the entrepreneurs and managers of Pakistan came over to India (227). While partition dislocated the economic life of the country, it opened up innumerable opportunities for skilled and semi-skilled labour. The transplanted entrepreneurs were able to use their business acumen in organizing capital to set up enterprises of diverse nature.

Communal riots, floods, famine and earthquakes whose devastating effects are now controlled or mitigated often jeopardize the national economy and render large numbers of workers jobless. The displaced workers are either absorbed in the residual industries or are compelled to migrate to other parts of the country in search of employment. The economic dislocation brought about by calamities constricts the job market and renders the entry of fresh labour difficult. Those who enter the job market during this period are forced to accept jobs on lower wages and rise slowly, or sometimes to accept jobs which do not befit their qualifications, training, aspiration or aptitude.

Allied to the problem of re-settlement and re-employment are the problems of reorientation of attitudes. Persons thus affected have sometimes to start on lower or different jobs. Some are too old to start again or are affected financially and emotionally so much so that they are incapable of starting again. More than economics involve the reactions of the affected persons to their altered circumstances. Children of such persons miss the start in life which they would have enjoyed if the circumstances had been unchanged.

trade cycles

Business and industry sometimes in spite of planning register an unpredictable cycle of acceleration and retardation resulting in a greater or lesser volume of employment. These cyclical changes, however, are short-lived. But the trade cycle as a sequence of prosperity, depression and prosperity which bring about radical changes in the volume of business, has far-

reaching effects on employment, earnings, and standards of living. The changes which took place during the inter-bellum period (1918-1939), the boom of 1919-1920, the crisis of 1921, the widely fluctuating exchange rates of 1921-27, the post-1931 pattern of world currency alignments, the depression of 1929-33, the recovery of 1934-37, the adoption of the new constitution in 1935, and the formation of popular ministries in various provinces during 1937-39, were some of the main events which influenced India's industrial development, and consequently occupational opportunities, and adjustment of those who were submerged in the rise and fall of the employment market.

fashion change

Change in the taste and style of the people whether on account of education, foreign contact or economic and industrial development affects different industries and thus the fortunes of those employed in those industries. The automobile is fast replacing the 'ghora-garhi' in the Indian cities. Thousands of those earning their livelihood as coachmen are being displaced by the taxi-drivers especially those who are either too slow or too old to learn new skills. The *Statesman* (464, 466, 469) has given a panoramic view of the lives of the dhobi, the boatman and the tailor, the hardships, uncertainties and danger to their professional life on account of the change in popular fashion and style. What is true of Calcutta is true of every large city in India. The home-washing and electrical ironing by Indian housewives are depriving the dhobi of his main source of income. The trend among the people for steam and dry washing has further denuded the dhobi of his source of income. The change in entertainment media has ushered in a de-emphasis on river boat-trips and parties which has affected the professional lives of the boatmen. The change-over from custom-made to mass-produced dresses has shattered the employment market for the tailor.

Change of taste and style of the people acts in two ways.

First, it prevents new workers from joining old professions and secondly, it throws out of employment those people whose professional skills cannot withstand a new development or are no longer usable. Some of these people take to similar professions such as coachmen to taxi-driving or scooter-driving or to different professions if the learning of new skills is at all feasible.

technological changes (rationalization and automation)

The emergence of new industries, the introduction of new materials and processes and all the innovations in their train have accentuated specialization at all levels of skill. This has resulted in a fall in the number of unskilled persons and a proportionate increase in the number of the semi-skilled and highly skilled workers. Mechanization is replacing the use of muscular power necessitating training on the job, instead of a prolonged apprenticeship. At the most advanced stages of mechanization, however, the skills in greater demand tend more and more to have one factor in common—supervision tends to take the place of direct handling, while manual dexterity and “know-how” tend to be replaced by understanding of the installation or equipment (197). In other words, skill tends to entail fewer “motor” or “manual” aspects and more mental aspects involving perception and knowledge, i.e. the ability to absorb information and to relate or interpret it as a prelude to taking action.

All economic evidence tends to show that rationalization carries with it a net diminution of employment and the substitution of a large proportion of unskilled labour by highly skilled labour. Rationalization also reduces employment by the closing down of the unproductive undertakings, transferring production to a few efficient units, regulating output with demand and retrenching staff and rendering staff unnecessary by the application of machines. The working labour force, nevertheless, stands to gain in the form of increased efficiency through scientific selection, judicious allocation of tasks, main-

tenance of high speed, wage incentives and congenial atmosphere of work. Rationalization, properly implemented, enables the workers to earn more wages and thereby enjoy a higher standard of living. Though, in the long range, rationalization may contribute to greater stability and increase in total employment, the fact cannot be disputed that displacement becomes a serious short-term problem.

In underdeveloped countries where labour is plentiful rationalization, mechanization and automation engendered by technology are bound to result in the throwing out of a large number of gainfully employed labour. Trade unionists for that reason, therefore, object to mechanical coal cutters, means of transport etc. although they are in favour of employing machines which improve safety or working conditions (73). Consider an example of modernizing the cotton industry in India will result in making 180,000 workers redundant (194). Rationalization is considered to be one of the factors in reducing the level of employment in the Jute industry. In order to absorb the retrenched workers, not only does the problem of retraining them for different jobs arise, but also the openings for fresh recruits are closed. Besides the problem of re-absorption or transfer of the retrenched workers to other departments, modernization will give rise to problems of interpersonal relationships.

trade unionism

The growth of trade unionism since 1951 in India is evident from the table on the following page.

It is clear from Table 5 that the number of registered unions increased by 183 between 1957-58 (excluding Rajasthan) and 1958-59 and the number of those submitting returns increased by 520. The average membership of trade unions also rose from 546 to 604 during the same period.

It is also obvious from Table 5 that there has been a gradual increase in the number of trade unions and of introduction of women workers to those unions. These two features will have

TABLE 5

Number of registered trade unions and membership of unions submitting returns.

Year	Registered trade unions	Unions submitting returns	Membership of unions submitting returns	Average member- ship per union	Percentage of women membership to total
1951-52	4,623	2,556	19,96,311	761	6.8
1952-53	4,934	2,718	20,99,003	772	7.5
1953-54	6,029	3,295	21,12,695	641	8.4
1954-55	6,658	3,545	21,70,450	612	10.6
1955-56	8,095	4,006	22,74,732	568	10.6
1956-57	8,553	4,399	23,76,762	540	11.8
1957-58	10,045	5,520	30,15,052	546	11.0
1958-59*	10,228	6,040	36,47,148	604	10.8

*Excludes the state of Rajasthan.

Taken from Table 4.01, *Labour Year Book, 1960*, p. 92.

a far-reaching influence on the world of work. While on the one hand, the employees' unions and employers' unions will protect their professional interests, the presence of women in the unions will influence their occupational procedures, policies and the techniques of protests and negotiations. This will also include their approval and disapproval for the maintenance of old occupations and the presenting of new opportunities. This is already becoming obvious in the world of work in India.

Among their many activities the trade unions undertake, including protection of the workers' rights, are now included the improvement of the economic, social and political status of the working class. The trade union movement of today is not content with protecting and improving wages and conditions of labour; it concerns itself with all matters by which the workers are likely to be affected, whether as producers or consumers, whether as units of industrial manpower or as citizens. In their capacity as employing agencies they not only determine their own policy of employment but also influence the employment policies of the industrial establishments and other administrative policies.

Education which is partly a government and partly a private enterprise in India, is also becoming a battle-ground for the entry of labour unionism now (454). Besides male workers' unions, female workers' unions and employers' unions, unionism among university students is also becoming a vital force and political in nature (483).

Policies determined by trade unions and employers' unions formulated in order to protect the interests of respective parties, influence the employment market by keeping the working population in work and by keeping the new employment at its minimum so that the security and tenure of service of the workers is safeguarded. The university students are becoming increasingly conscious of being a distinct branch of society and pursuing a separate youth culture. The student unions are demanding a larger voice in the running of their institutions and in national policies for education.

public policies

Public policies in the form of legislation have far-reaching effects on the workers and employment. The part played by the State in ameliorating the conditions of workers in industrial and semi-industrial occupations continues to be mainly through legislation. Some of the important measures since 1931 enacted by the Central Legislature are, the Consolidated Factories Act (1934), the Payment of Wages Act (1936), the Employment of Children Act (1938) as well as several other Acts passed by the Provincial Legislatures. For a fairly long time the employers denied labour the benefits of the Acts and the States in India avoided enforcement of the Acts. The Rege Committee, therefore, emphasized that "if 'maximum good of the maximum number' is to be achieved, the maximum number in India, as anywhere else, consists of the labouring classes, and, therefore, if the common man is to get his due, a frontal attack on the problems at issue will have to be made, with the State in the vanguard of such movement" (141, p. 9).

The Government of India implemented the recommendations

of the Committee through a five-year plan of legislative and administrative action. The years between 1942-47 witnessed an important extension in the scope of protective labour legislation, which included a series of amendments to the Factories Act, giving workers in factories a 48-hour week, annual holidays with pay and canteen facilities; the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act of 1946, which require the larger industrial establishments in the country to frame and adopt regular standing orders and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, which provides for the investigation and peaceful settlement of industrial disputes (227).

The most important among the changes affecting the employment market brought about by the Factories Act of 1948 are: (i) raising of the minimum age for the admission of children to employment from 12 to 14 years and no adolescent (a person between 15 and 18) is allowed to be employed unless medically certified to be fit, (ii) fixation of hours of work for adult workers at 48 per week and 9 per day, and for children and adolescents 4.1/2 hours per day, and by the Mines Act of 1952 in line with the Factories Act confirming the ban on the employment of women underground and prohibiting the employment of women except between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m., but in no case can they be allowed to work between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m. (146).

These two Acts have affected employment in several ways. Because of the restriction on the employment of women in night shifts, even some of those occupations which were traditionally considered to be womens' occupations were filled by men workers. The fixation of uniform minimum wages and dearness allowance and introduction of the system of rationalization resulted in the retrenchment of women workers. Similarly a ban on the employment of women in underground mining operations caused the fall in the number of women workers and increase in the employment of men workers (254). Raising the age of children to be employed in industry resulted in an absolute decline of child labour, which meant more opportunities for the employment of adult workers.

There are other state policies such as the Tariff Policy and

Taxation which restrict or enlarge the employment market. It was estimated that the total employment in the group of protected industries increased from 580 thousand in 1923 to about 881 thousand in 1937 or by 50 per cent. During the same period, the increase in the unprotected group of industries was only 21 per cent, i.e. from about 870 thousand in 1923 to 1051 thousand by 1937. These percentages are indicative of the acceleration in employment due to protection. The increase in the protected group of industries was more than double the increase in the non-protected industries. Furthermore, this percentage related only to increase in direct recruitment. There was an enormous increase in secondary employment as a result of protection (13). The Industrial Policy Statement, 1956 (136) makes a specific reference to the role of protection in the industrial development of the country. Taxation both direct and indirect and concessions in taxation act both as a curb as well as an incentive to industrialization and hence to the employment of labour.

Nationalization, the ban on slow-moving vehicles and prohibition are some of the other government policies which are affecting the employment market. The Government's policy in regard to slow-moving vehicles in Calcutta has resulted in throwing a large number of handcart pullers out of employment and making the rest uncertain about their future (472). One of the oldest local jokes in Calcutta, credits prohibition with providing India with her largest cottage industry, illicit distillation.

localization

A survey of Indian industries shows that over most of the fields there was a very strong tendency to concentration in four main areas: (i) Hooglyside (Jute), (ii) Bombay and its textile outliers (Ahmedabad, Sholapur), (iii) Jamshedpur-Asansol (the only zone of basic heavy industry); and (iv) the Tamilnad towns (especially Coimbatore and Madura) powered mainly from the Cauvery.

Dispersal of industry, however, has been affected by giving preferences in the location of public sector projects to relatively backward areas whenever possible. Similarly in the licensing of private sector the claims of underdeveloped regions have generally been kept in view to the extent possible (158). Analysis of licences issued by the Indian Government over the five-year period, ended March 31, 1961 for new industries and for substantial expansion of the existing units confirms the dispersion of new industries.

The pattern revealed by the analysis of licences issued by the Indian Government, is that from January 1956 to March 1961 a total of 3,790 licences were issued including 2,029 for the substantial expansion of old industrial units, by the Development Wing of the Union Ministry for Industries. Of these 625 for expansion went to West Bengal against 1,412 to Maharashtra and Gujarat; 598 were for the setting-up of the new units and 814 for the substantial expansion of the existing industries ... Average employment per day in registered factories in West Bengal increased from 6.55 lakhs in 1951 to 6.86 lakhs in 1960, indicating an increase of less than 5 per cent. During the same period employment in Maharashtra and Gujarat registered a rise of 45 per cent and 13 respectively (440).

This pictures changes when we study the breakdown of the companies districtwise. The largest number of companies including companies limited by shares & companies limited by guarantee and associations not for profit are reported to be still concentrated in West Bengal followed by Maharashtra and Madras. The total number of companies at work in West Bengal was 8,911 at the end of March, 1961, while the figures for Maharashtra and Madras were 5,298 and 2,971 respectively. Delhi and U. P. came fourth and fifth with 1892 and 1124 companies. The districtwise concentration of joint-stock companies as revealed by the same study shows that Calcutta with 7,925 companies again leads Greater Bombay (4,557) and Madras district (1,033), while the districts of Coimbatore and Ahmedabad were fourth and fifth with 609 and 419 companies (459).

The distribution of industrial licences and the breakdown of companies districtwise shows the lopsided development of the industrial base and the unequal distribution of occupational opportunities. This conclusion is supported by the figures of daily employment statewise as reported in the *Labour Year Book*, 1960 (146, p. 3). The total number of working factories in all the states taken together (except Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala and Manipur) in 1959 was 44,109 with an average daily employment of 34.76 lakhs. The corresponding figures for 1958 were 41,569 and 34.13 lakhs respectively. In 1959, as in earlier years, Bombay and West Bengal together accounted for more than a half of total employment in all the states, Bombay claiming about one-third and West Bengal about one-fifth of total employment in all states taken together. Among other states, employment was high in Madras, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Bihar and Mysore which all accounted for more than 5 per cent of the total employment. As compared to 1958 employment increased in all the states except in Andhra and Madras.

This account reveals that there is uneven distribution of factories and hence unequal distribution of employment opportunities in the states. In some of the states there is a comparative stagnation of employment market resulting in the movement of the people from those states to other potential states. Another factor of occupational importance is that some of the states have a smaller share of industrial population than would be justified on the basis of their total share in population, which gives rise to problems of chronic unemployment in those states.

urbanism

According to the 1961 census (153, p. xxxv) there are 107 cities in India each with a population of over a lakh, 141 cities with over 50,000, 515 cities with over 20,000, 817 cities with over 10,000, 884 cities with over 5,000 and 266 cities with less than 5,000 population. Thus we have a total of 2,690 towns in India. Against 1961, in 1951 there were 74 cities in the first category,

111 towns in the 2nd category, 375 in the 3rd category, 670 in the 4th category, 1189 in the 5th category and 638 in the last category. The growth of large towns becomes clear from the following table.

TABLE 6

*Showing number and population of towns according to 1961 and 1951 census
arranged in six classes I to VI*

Class	1961 Census		1951 Census		Increase (+)	Increase (-)	Decrease in population of class
	Number	Total population	Number	Total population			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Class I (100,000 & over)	107	35,110,251	74	23,725,020	+33	+ 11,385,231	
Class II (50,000-99,999)	141	9,625,724	111	7,544,968	+30	+ 2,080,756	
Class III (20,000-49,999)	515	15,650,419	375	11,135,350	+140	+ 4,515,069	
Class IV (10,000-19,999)	817	11,257,580	670	9,290,827	+147	+ 1,966,753	
Class V (5,000-9,999)	844	6,312,590	1,189	8,471,910	-345	- 2,159,320	
Class VI (under 5,000)	266	879,375	638	2,108,654	-372	- 1,229,279	
Total	2,690	78,835,939	3,057	62,276,729	-367	+16,559,210	

SOURCE: Census of India, 1961, Paper No. 1 of 1962, p. xxxv., Statement 31.

Table 6 shows several things: (i) The number of towns with a population of 10,000 and above is increasing and of the towns with a population of less than 10,000 is decreasing, (ii) large cities are becoming larger and small towns are becoming smaller, (iii) people are moving out of small towns to the cities, and (iv) urbanization is on the increase.

Another index of urbanization is the increase and decrease

in the percentage of urban and rural populations, which is shown in the following table.

TABLE 7

Showing rural and urban populations (1921-1961)

Year	Percentage of total population	
	Rural	Urban
1921	88.8	11.2
1931	88.0	12.0
1941	86.1	13.9
1951	82.7	17.3
1961	82.0	18.0

SOURCE: *India, 1964*, p. 21, Table 16.

It is apparent from Table 7 (*i*) that there has been a steady decrease in rural population and an increase in urban population, which means there has been between 1921 and 1961, a slow but steady shift towards urbanization, (*ii*) the push from the village to the city which was more pronounced between 1941-1951, seems to have slowed down between 1951-1961. However, the rate of urbanization is still impressive and (*iii*) at present the percentage of rural and urban populations is 82 per cent and 18 per cent respectively.

The population of towns and cities is rising twice as fast as that in the rural areas. During the decade (1951-61) the urban population increased by 36 per cent and the rural by 18 per cent giving an overall average of 21.5 per cent (465). It may denote that the lack of occupational opportunities in the villages may be thrusting people towards the cities, and also that the availability of employment opportunities which are more abundant in the cities than in the villages act as a draw for the village folk. On the contrary, the slow growth of the urban population may imply that (*i*) a large increase in the urban labour force on account of a rapid rate of a natural increase in urban population, and (*ii*) the existence of a large backlog of unemployed and underemployed urban manpower, has been tending to

block the stream of rural-urban migration. Table 7 also shows that the slowing-down of the movement of the people from villages to cities may be accounted for by the lack of the employment opportunities in the non-agricultural sector and lack of scope for a significant shift from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector, resulting in the presence of surplus manpower in both rural and urban areas, which will continue to create problems of chronic underemployment and unemployment.

supply and demand

The factor of supply and demand which depends on the educational system and the state of the national economy influences employment significantly. If the demand is greater than the supply of the type of personnel required, entry into a job and promotion may become easy.

In the field of engineering, which received the maximum fillip from industrialization and modernization in India, the demand for technical personnel had kept ahead of the capacity of our technical institutions. Because of the lack of scientific procedures of recruitment, there had been difficulties in meeting the occupational demands of trained engineers, but on the whole there had been a shortage, which proved to be short-lived. The trained engineers who, therefore, had entered the job market earlier have better chances of promotion than those who enter the market when the tempo has levelled off. Nevertheless the slow rate of training diploma holders and artisans who have to assist graduate engineers in their work, will force the employers to engage persons with higher qualifications in jobs which could be done by the less qualified (390). This is confirmed by what Chaki (54) has to say: "Graduate engineers, after completion of their training in India and abroad are often employed in manufacturing concerns as foremen and assistant foremen, whose main job is to control labour in carrying out day-to-day routine tasks for which a person with an engineering degree is certainly not required."

To take two examples of Bihar and West Bengal there was a healthy market for the employment of technical personnel who were in short supply. Bihar in spite of the expansion in engineering colleges had a shortage of over 500 civil and 100 mechanical engineers together with 800 civil and 400 mechanical engineering overseers at the end of the Third Plan (452). The Calcutta University Employment Bureau (458) reported that the number of job seekers with qualifications of M.Sc. in Physics and Chemistry, in electrical, mechanical, civil and metallurgical engineering were far below the prevalent demand. In the field of Primary and Middle School Education alone 80,000 trained teachers were needed annually (476).

Writing about the shortage of doctors who are calculated at one doctor to every 4,800 Indians, Wagris (578) points out that there will be a shortage of 2,000 qualified teachers in Indian Medical Colleges. The flow of Indian doctors to foreign countries, therefore, is rather alarming in view of the 3,000 Government dispensaries in different parts of the country being unattended (441).

The case is rather different in Business Management also sometimes called Personnel Management which is to contribute so much to the advancement of India's commerce and industry. A survey carried out by Dr. Monroe Berkowitz and Phillip Thomas of Gujrat University on the "Training of Labour Welfare Officers" (367), in 1959-60 reported that "500 persons are being trained for approximately 250 vacancies", when shortage of top and middle-level managers is common in both the public and private sectors (389).

The trained managers, on the other hand, have a different story to tell. The diploma lacks market value. "For all its urgency, personnel management has not made much headway in India" (447). Prejudice and conservatism are factors which affect employment opportunities. There is an enormous area of research in the recruitment of candidates at junior level and promotion to higher levels of management after the candidates have had practical experience.

There is yet another factor which influences the supply and

demand of personnel. This has been the 'regional immobility' among the educated class except at fairly high levels (138, p. 12), which restricts the scope of proper utilization of educated manpower. "Exchanges report shortages of certain categories of personnel in some places while the same category of personnel are surplus in other places, which makes the problem of supply and demand a matter of providing suitable incentives." This problem, however, is complicated on account of the regional preferences of both the employer and the employee.

language

The 1951 census enumerated a total of 845 languages or dialects as follows:

TABLE 8

Population according to Mother tongue (1951)

	Number	Persons speaking
Languages specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution	15*	32,39,70,435
Tribal languages or dialects with speakers numbering a lakh and over	23	1,15,31,841
Other Indian languages or dialects with speakers numbering a lakh and over	24	1,76,59,225
Other Indian languages or dialects with speakers numbering less than a lakh	720	27,64,070
Non-Indian languages	63	2,26,245
Unclassified population	—	5,89,673
	845	35,67,41,489**

SOURCE: *India, 1964*, p. 18, Table 14.

* Fourteen languages have been specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution. Since some persons preferred to return Hindustani instead of Hindi or Urdu, the 1951 census enumerated 15 instead of 14 languages.

** Exclusive of people living in the state of Jammu & Kashmir and Part B Tribal areas of Assam where the 1951 census was not taken, Goa, Daman and Diu, Dadara and Nagar Haveli and Pondicherry.

A further breakdown of language statistics (Table 9) reveals that 30.4 per cent of the population speaks Hindi.

TABLE 9

Languagewise distribution of the population based upon the 1961 census

Language	Percentage of population
1. Hindi	30.4
2. Telugu	8.6
3. Bengali	7.7
4. Marathi	7.6
5. Tamil	7.0
6. Urdu	5.3
7. Gujrati	4.6
8. Kannada	4.0
9. Malayalam	3.9
10. Oriya	3.51
11. Punjabi	2.5
12. Assamese	1.6
13. Kashmiri	0.49
14. Other languages	12.8

SOURCE: Computed from Table 15 of *India (An Annual Reference)*, 1965, p. 20.

Hindi being the language of the majority has the first claim. But since English has been in use for over a century in offices, trade and industry it has come to occupy a more important place in education and in everyday life. The University Education Commission in its report (133, p. 321) states, "In the circumstances, while national needs compel the recognition of Hindi (Hindustani) as India's federal language, it is difficult to assign to it the role played by English." "Since we do not know any other Western language, English has become the window to the world and key to higher training in science and technology," says Mrs. Pandit (448). Pandit Nehru (467) called English a great language and "our principal contact with the outside world".

Highlighting some aspects of the language problem in India based on the census report Mr. J. P. Naik, Secretary, Education Commission says (537) that less than 7 per cent of India's 439 million people know an Indian language other than their mother tongue. Even though bilingualism covered 30 million people, the actual number of persons who could read and write and speak two languages with fluency was much less. The number of persons knowing English is a little more than 11 million. "In fact English might be described as the most largely known subsidiary in India with a clientele which is even larger than that of Hindi as a subsidiary language (9.36 million).

Since English has been the medium of instruction at the university level and is at present the Federal language it has come to influence the job market. Persons educated through the medium of English have a wider range of occupations to choose from than those educated through regional languages. English education also enables the people to avail themselves of employment opportunities abroad, and to keep themselves abreast with developments in Western science and technology because "over 50 % of scientific research was conducted in English" (251).

Language is also important in the exchange of teachers, students, scientists and technologists between universities and countries. Those who want to go to American and British universities find an excellent knowledge of English a blessing. Foreign educated persons have better chances of employment in the countries where they were trained as well as in their own country in both native and foreign subsidized firms.

A common language or a language of common communication is the most important requirement for keeping the national channels of employment open and hence, persons educated through the medium of English which provides a basis of common understanding, have more possibilities for employment in the more industrialized parts of India. Persons educated in regional languages will have hardly any chance of employment outside their own states. The job potential of the English language is, therefore, the highest.

planned economy

The twin aspects of planning is planning for manpower and manpower planning (226). Planning affects the job market in two ways: First, by controlling those factors which shrink the occupational market and secondly, by creating new employment opportunities by capital intensive and labour intensive schemes. The schemes may be long or short-term or quick maturing depending on how acute the problem of unemployment is or how important the emergency. Hence the three Five Year Plans (132, 137, 149) were launched with the object of eradicating unemployment and ushering in a socialistic pattern of society.

The Third Five Year Plan states that the basic objective of India's development must necessarily be to offer the masses of the Indian people the opportunity to lead a good life which is in line with our constitution as it also lays down that the State shall, direct its policy towards securing the citizens, men and women equally, the right to an adequate means of livelihood. "The basic objective is to provide sound foundations by sustained economic growth, for increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improving living standards and working conditions of the masses". (149, p. 6).

The First Five Year Plan concentrated more on development in the rural sector and various plans of agricultural development and large-scale construction projects. The various schemes and projects relieved to some extent the underemployment in rural areas. The Second Five Year Plan aimed at a larger increase in investment, production and employment by placing special emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries. It set the target of providing employment to 10 million people. The Third Five Year Plan was expected to provide employment opportunities for about 14 million people, 10.5 million non-agricultural and an additional 3.5 million agricultural. The Fourth Five Year Plan (159) which has been announced is still in the discussion stage. While planning for manpower

has received the necessary attention, manpower planning is still in a rudimentary stage.

chronic unemployment

The unemployment situation is not much relieved in spite of the three Five Year Plans. On the contrary, the economy suffered significant deterioration in the last few years. "This has been broadly confirmed by the findings of the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry, the National Sample Survey and the studies undertaken by the Programme Evaluation Organisation" (149, p. 155). This will mean that for lack of employment opportunities a considerable proportion of employed persons have to function below capacity and do much less work than in fact they are capable of (511).

Chronic unemployment is more common in rural than in urban areas. A recent survey in 145 community development block areas in West Bengal showed that the number of people unemployed in the villages increased by 116,000 during the slack season (443). The story is not different in flourishing industrial centres either. There has been an increase of 15 per cent in the number of applicants in the live register in 1961-62 in Asansol which is one of the flourishing industrial centres (451).

Unemployment in industrial towns may be due to a general lack of knowledge about the trades in which there was a shortage of trained persons.

The Labour & Employment Division of the Planning Commission reports (507) that as "the original target of 14 million laid down in the Third Plan is itself short of the total requirement of 17 million, the unemployment backlog will really be of the order of 10 to 11 million at the end of the Plan." Over and above the unemployed, there is also the question of finding additional work for the underemployed the number of whom as estimated in the Third Plan, was 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 (519).

The unemployment backlog of 11 to 12 million and of

underemployment of 18 million will mean that the job market will have few openings of employment for graduates leaving schools and colleges during the Fourth-Plan period. They will also face stiff competition from the persons who have already entered the field. It will make promotion difficult and mobility impossible.

conclusions

1. The employment market expands and contracts on account of industrialization, technological changes, war and peace, trade cycles, natural and national calamities and fashion change, which influence the careers of those who are already in employment or are preparing to enter it later.
2. Trade unionism, public policies, localization of industries, planned economy and sex of the workers regulate the employment market in determining the extent and nature of occupations and occupational policies and procedures.
3. Whether the type and number of workers required for the national economy will be available is determined by the cultural pattern of the people and the educational system prevalent in the country.
4. The entry and promotion of workers in different job hierarchies will also be determined by the cultural pattern (religion, caste and family), language, sex and education.
5. Job opportunities are unequally distributed over states and in the same state over districts.
6. People in the same state or from different states move away from low-job potential areas to high-job potential areas.
7. No genuine attempt has been made to understand the cultural pattern as a dynamics of occupation. The cultural pattern set by religion, caste, and linguistic factors which are reinforced by the joint-family system have given rise to certain values and attitudes which both hinder and replenish employment talent, initiative and resourceful-

ness. The family system by contributing family labour in agriculture and industry acts as a means of providing hereditary skills which on the one hand stabilizes the job market, but on the other hand, blocks the development of a non-traditional labour force necessary for the economy in which industrial, technological and merchandizing skills are necessary. In business family alignment has offered entrepreneurship talent which has resulted in preventing fresh and vigorous talent from entering the managerial ranks and from working its way upwards, thus causing dissatisfaction and frustration among ambitious young people.

8. The new Plans should create not only new jobs equal to the rate of increase in the work force which may be about 17,000,000 (17 million) in the Fourth-Plan period but also create conditions to absorb the backlog of 12 million unemployed persons. The Fourth Five Year Plan will not create enough employment to absorb all new entrants, much less solve the backlog of unemployment. In other words, unemployment and underemployment are going to stay with us for several years to come.
9. Besides population control the problems to be tackled are basically two: (1) the proper utilization of available manpower, which involves the problem of developing scientific methods of recruitment, selection and placement, and (2) the development of a new cadre of technologists, scientists, administrators, teachers, technical and other categories of skilled workers which raises the problem of occupational choice determination and development at the school level.

Worker Recruitment

Most countries possess human resources which are deployed towards industrial employment, but no country is in possession of persons who are endowed with the habits, skills, and "know-how" essential for industrial development. Thus the industrializing elite, and especially the managers of enterprises, are expected to build a large and diversified work force. The process of building up an industrial labour force involves four interrelated processes: recruitment, commitment, upgrading, and security.

Recruitment is the first step in development of the industrial labour force. "It is the process of selecting, hiring and assigning persons to jobs. Commitment is a longer and more intricate process. It consists of achieving the workers' permanent attachment to and acceptance of industrial employment as a way of life. Upgrading is the process of building the skills, the work habits, and the incentives of productive employment. It involves the training and the energizing of the working force. Security includes the various facilities which may be necessary to provide worker security both on and off the job" (219, p. 10). The methods and the organization, therefore, by means of which labour is brought into industry have a lot to do with the ultimate success or failure of such employment. In this chapter we will consider how labour, both manual and non-manual, is recruited in different occupational fields and the recent changes that have taken place in recruitment methods and machinery in India.

agriculture

Agricultural labour is not organized. It is widely dispersed

on holdings, often of meagre size, and is engaged for a part of the year. Agricultural employment is seasonal and intermittent in character, and unlike factory employment is unskilled in its nature. Except on a few mechanized farms the employment of skilled labour is not feasible. The use of bullock power and certain primitive implements is made in all agricultural operations which are mostly done manually. The classification of workers, therefore, is based not on consideration of the degree of skill, but on the basis of the exigencies of farm work.

Farm workers generally are of two types: casual workers and attached workers. The first category includes all those workers who are employed for rush work on daily wages for specific operations for a short duration in order to cope with Nature's time-schedule for completing agricultural operations well within the season. The second category of workers called 'attached' are generally employed on contract, oral or written, extending over a period of a quarter, a half-year or one year as may be. There is, however, a considerable diversity in the conditions of employment of attached labourers on account of varying traditions and customs from region to region.

The scope of recruitment of farm labourers is limited in several instances by two factors: the use of family labour on the farm and the mutual help prevalent in agriculture. The first source of labour supply is the family. It is only when that source is exhausted that the farmer is compelled in order to meet the demands of rush work to employ hired labour. Often, assistance is rendered on a mutual family basis, by pooling the available resources of bullocks and manpower. In the absence of plough-cattle, resort is taken to borrowing bullocks from a friendly family and as a quid pro quo lending a hand to the helping family.

In view of the present agrarian setting with small family holdings, non-mechanized farming, and the degree of skill involved in work the recruitment of labour will continue to be the headache of individual farmers and governed by the exigencies of farm work. Employment contracts of attached workers

are likely to continue since it is inherent in the conditions of crop production (148).

plantations

The term "Plantation" as defined in the Convention concerning Conditions of Employment of Plantation Workers, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1958 (196, p. 1), includes, "any agricultural undertaking, regularly employing hired workers, which is situated in the tropical or sub-tropical regions and which is mainly concerned with the cultivation or production for commercial purposes of coffee, tea, sugarcane, rubber, bananas, cocoa, coconuts, groundnuts, cotton, tobacco, fibres (sisal, jute and hemp), citrus, palm oil, cinchona or pineapple; it does not include family or small-scale holdings producing for local consumption and not regularly employing hired workers". Among plantations are included tea, coffee, and rubber plantations for the purposes of considering recruitment of labour in this chapter.

The first recruitment of labour was done by a group of contractors or professional recruiters called Arkattis operating from Calcutta for the tea plantations in Assam. Later between 1863 and 1901 by means of a series of legislative measures the recruiters were made to obtain recruiting licences. Further legislation in 1932 called the Tea District Emigrant Labour Act which came into force in 1933, became the basis of the present practice of recruiting the labour for Assam tea gardens.

Recruitment of labour for plantations is done by the machinery provided by an organization called the Tea Districts Labour Association with its headquarters in Calcutta. Seventy-seven per cent of the tea industry in North-East India utilizes the services of this Association for the recruitment of labour, which is brought from distant regions. The Association hires recruiters who are called Garden Sardars, Resident Sardars and Local Recruiters. Garden Sardars and Resident Sardars work as agents of the tea estates while recruiters are agents of the Tea Districts Labour Association.

Plantation labour in the North-East is usually recruited from distant places, and in the face of competition for labour from the mines, railways, forests and manufacturing industries in Bengal, Bihar and Assam. "The planters in the North-East have, therefore, to secure permanent workers usually recruited in families resident on the estates, in order that a regular flow of manpower be ensured" (238, p. 68). Workers are now normally recruited from among the children as they grow up on the plantations and outside recruitment is almost negligible.

On the contrary, the labour in the South which was formerly recruited locally, and consequently was generally non-resident, temporary and migratory, has been ensured continuity of employment with the result that there has been an increase in the labour force resident on estates. The erstwhile recruiters who were known as Kangaries and who performed the dual role of labour suppliers and intermediaries between the labour and the manager, have now become in effect labour supervisors. They, however, continue to enjoy a commission on the wages earned by the workmen in their gangs. The commission was later converted into 'head money' or *pér capita* payment of one anna per worker per day of attendance. The Kangany system is now almost moribund.

Plantation labour like agricultural labour is just another conglomeration of workers without being parcelled out on the basis of skill or training. The main categories in which plantation labour is placed are: Faltu or Basti (i.e. those who come from the neighbouring villages to work on the gardens); settled labour (i.e. those who at one time emigrated from outside Assam and ultimately settled on the gardens); and emigrant labour (i.e. those who hail from outside Assam and who after staying on the gardens for some years return home). Labour of the last category is rather insignificant nowadays.

An interesting feature of labour recruitment to plantations is that the basis of recruitment is the family. This is also true though to a much smaller extent of the mining industry, and of some of the unorganized industries like Shellac, Mica etc., where families work in teams. All the members of the family,

men, women, and children are provided with work. Recruitment of individuals is rather frowned on. This is especially the case in tea and coffee estates. Exception, however, is made in the case of recruitment of labour to rubber estates, where the majority of workers come as single recruits, although women-folk are not totally banned from employment. "Thus plantation industries hire more women than any other organized industry in proportion to men" (196, p. 16).

mines

Unlike Western countries there is nothing like a mining class in India. The miners are generally recruited from the agricultural classes, labour for short periods in the mines and then return to their villages for seasonal agricultural operations. The oldest system of recruitment for coal mines was the Zamindari system. Labourers were induced to work in the mines with offers of plots of land either free of cost or at nominal rents. The system was abandoned because the yield from the land often turned out to be an inadequate attraction to hold the workers. The Zamindari system was followed by recruitment through contractors. A great majority of workers continue to be recruited by the intermediaries. "In all the three mines covered by the Labour Investigation Committee, contract labour constituted 53 per cent of all the labour force. The percentage of contract labour in the mines covered by the Labour Bureau was 73.9% in 1956" (147, p. 15).

The system of recruitment recently introduced by some mines is that of direct recruitment by paid agents who visit the recruiting areas. Coal mines especially depend on intermediaries for the recruitment of labour. Other mining industries recruit their labour in a somewhat different way. The iron ore mining companies recruit their labour directly. The labour is informed of the available vacancies through the company's mates who in turn inform the workers who further spread the news in the villages. Thereafter, men gather at the company's offices and are recruited according to requirements. Labour for contract

work in the quarries and the Mica and Manganese mines are recruited through Sardars or sub-contractors. In the Gold-mining industry, however, recruitment is made direct by "time officers".

factories

Several methods of recruitment of labour in factories are in vogue but the most common method is through the agency of intermediaries called jobbers. The jobber is known in different parts of India and in different industries by different names such as Sardar, mistry, mukadam, tindal, chowdhary, kangany etc.. The jobber is almost an ubiquitous feature of recruitment and labour administration in India. He usually combines in himself a formidable array of functions. Thus he "is not only a recruiting agent, but very often a supervisor, or foreman, or even a sub-employer, or a gangman who is both a sub-employer and a worker sharing the income with other workers" (141, p. 77).

In cities where intermediaries are not employed for recruitment, labour is hired through direct recruitment. This system is more commonly prevalent in the states of Bombay, Madras and Punjab, where recruitment is at the factory gate. An exhibition notice is hung at the factory gate that so much complement is required and selection by the factory manager or labour superintendent or any one of the other officials will be made from amongst those who present themselves there. Information regarding fresh recruitment is also relayed through the already hired labour who announce it to their friends and relations. These methods prove generally effective for securing fresh labour under the unskilled categories or substitute workers. Skilled or semi-skilled labour which is hard to obtain by these methods is secured from the ranks of improvers by promotion but the former especially by inviting applications and making a direct selection after trade tests, if necessary. Direct recruitment is also made in some of the unregulated industries such as bidi-making, shellac, coir, matting etc (146).

On their own initiative some of the industries such as the Bata Shoe Co., at Calcutta, the Scindia Shipyard at Vizagapatam and the Assam Oil Company at Digboi, in order to obviate the evils of recruitment by jobbers, have sought to introduce a system of recruitment through Labour Officers, or Labour Superintendents. Sometimes these officers also act as recruiting officers for contacting the labour in the recruiting villages. Another system of recruitment which is prevalent in the Madura Mills Co. in South India is recruitment through the Labour Union. The management informs the Union of its labour requirements and the Union in its turn proffers the names of the persons who are on the list of the Union. These persons are generally related to the people working in the mill and are in quest of jobs and also of the former temporary employees of the mills. The selection is made by the management usually from the list supplied by the Union.

railways

The Railways make recruitment differently in different departments and in different circumstances. It is the General Manager or the officer to whom he deputes the authority, that makes recruitment of the sanctioned non-gazetted staff. It is also the responsibility of the General Manager to lay down the procedure for such appointments. Selection of the Subordinate staff, the Heads of Departments or Sections, filling up the inferior posts, is usually made by the Selection Boards. The Railways have been permitted the freedom of recruiting their own required staff.

For certain categories of jobs in the Railways an initial period of training is necessary. An initial course of training in telegraphy, transportation and commercial subjects is essential for recruitment to the posts of Station Masters. Similarly Commercial Departments enjoin a pre-recruitment period of training for ticket collectors, booking clerks and other types of staff. Engineering Departments require applicants for the positions of permanent way and signal interlocking staff to serve a specific period of apprenticeship.

Inferior staff is recruited direct by the department concerned from the ranks of the local labourers as and when required. Recruitment in machine shops of the unskilled workers is made locally, of semi-skilled workers by promotion and of skilled workers from amongst the applicants trained in particular trades or the apprentices drawn from the workshops. There are also set up Labour Bureaus to perform the recruitment of artisans for workshops. Rating and selection in such cases is done with the help of works managers and foremen (141, 146).

shipping

Recruitment of seamen which began some 85 years ago was done by licensed shipping brokers until 1922 and by the agents of the shipping companies until 1941. The Captain and in his absence his representative with the help of the Shipping Master used to select the Butler, the Deck Serang and the Engine Serang from amongst the recruits presented by the agent. The recruitment of the crew was then made by the Butler, the Deck Serang and the Engine Serang according to their own choice. The final selection and engagement, however, were finally to be approved by the Captain of the ship.

In 1941 the "open-muster" system for the selection of crews was introduced as a first step, towards eliminating the role of the intermediaries. Recruitment according to the muster system was made by the Master of the ship or his representative in the presence of the Shipping Master from amongst the mustered seamen at the appointed place and time according to their individual professional categories, viz. Serangs, Butlers, seamen, coal trimmers, etc.

Another step forward was taken in 1947 by the establishment of a Joint Supply Office under the Calcutta Maritime Board formed by the representatives of the Government, employers and employees. The office was superseded by the Seamen's Employment Office set up by the Government of India in 1955. According to this scheme, a seaman is required to register his name with the Seamen's Employment Office in the roster of a

particular Company or in the General roster indicating that he is free and willing for engagement with any company (147).

public motor transport

The system of recruitment in Public Motor Transport varies from state to state. The majority of the states recruit their workers directly. In Assam, Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal posts are advertised in the local newspapers. Selection is made on the recommendations of the Selection Boards constituted for this purpose. In Kerala and Mysore states, recruitment is made through the Public Service Commission. Some of the states use wholly or partly in combination with other means the services of Employment Exchanges for recruitment. In Delhi, recruitment is made both through the Employment Exchanges and by advertisements in newspapers, while in Jammu and Kashmir state, recruitment is done through the workshops (147).

oilfields and petroleum refineries

Recruitment through contractors in oilfields and petroleum refineries is a rather general practice. Contractors are at liberty to recruit their own labour which is available in abundance near the refinery gates. Skilled labour which is sparse on the refinery site is brought from elsewhere. Most of the labour is recruited directly by the contractors but sometimes through sub-contractors, agents and Sirdars as well as through existing workers (147).

non-manual workers

Since the middle of the 19th century constant attempts have been made to improve the condition of the manual workers. Industrial Labour itself has taken an active part in the struggle for the amelioration of its working and living conditions. No such effort was made by the non-manual workers partly because

the terms and conditions on which they were employed were much superior to those of industrial labour and partly because the idea of class struggle was then foreign to them and, therefore, they wanted to be left alone. In consequence the "distance" between the industrial workers and non-manual workers has narrowed down. Of late, however, the spirit of trade unionism has entered the ranks of the non-manual workers and they are now organizing to protect their professional and economic interests. But in spite of this the non-manual workers possess certain distinct features which differentiate them from manual workers, although a precise definition is still out of reach.

In view of the paucity of statistical and other material on non-manual workers a thorough study of the recruitment procedures and practices is not possible. Certain categories of non-manual workers for whom information is available are, therefore, considered in this chapter. Recruitment practices in the private sector generally differ from those of the public sector, although non-manual workers seek employment in great numbers in both sectors.

government employees

Employees in the offices of the Government of India and the State Governments occupy a special position among non-manual workers in India. The prominent features of the present recruitment procedure are summarized by the Second Pay Commission as follows (196, pp. 88-89).

"The Constitution lays down that the Union Public Service Commission shall be consulted on all matters relating to methods of recruitment for civil services and for civil posts under the Central Government and shall conduct examinations for appointment to these posts. In actual practice, however, unless there is specific provision to the contrary in the relevant rules, recruitment to Class III and Class IV posts is excluded from the purview of the Commission by regulations made under the proviso to clause 3 of Article 320."

"The Union Public Service Commission conducts about 30 examinations in a year to fill, on an average, 1,825 posts in different services. Some of the well-known examinations are those held for recruitment to the all-India and the Class I and Class II Central Services, various Class I Engineering Services, and the Assistants' Grade of the Central Secretariat Service. There is also a large number of posts—on an average of 1,400 in a year—for which the Commission selects candidates without any written examination. Such recruitment is made on the basis of the qualifications, experience, and records of the candidates, supplemented by an interview confined to those who, from the information furnished in their applications, etc., appear fit for consideration. For certain posts in the higher grades, requiring exceptional qualifications or experience, the procedure of formal interview is modified to suit the status of the persons considered for appointment. Posts which are not filled by promotion or through the Union Commission, are required, under orders of Government, to be filled from lists of eligible candidates obtained from the Employment Exchanges. The Commission has also decided to hold competitive examinations for the recruitment of lower division clerks."

insurance

The recruitment of supervisory and clerical staff is governed by the Recruitment Standing Order which was enacted on 1 October 1958. A staff Committee constituted under the Life Insurance Corporation Regulations 1956 and Services and Budget Committee of the Corporation are the final authorities in the matter of recruitment.

The order prescribes the minimum qualifications for new recruits. It is emphasized that all recruitment should ordinarily be made by inviting applications through advertisements in local newspapers and by asking the nearest Employment Exchange to supply candidates having the minimum qualifications. Written tests and interviews are required in most cases, while in the case of graduates, in certain subjects, who have secured 50 % marks, the written test is waived. For recruitment to the grade of typists and stenographers, a test in English is also prescribed in addition to the test in typing or stenography.

Medical examination for checking physical fitness before final selection is also required.

Persons selected after written tests and/or interviews may be required to undergo preliminary training in one or other of the training centres of the Corporation. There is a further test after the period of training and only persons passing that test are taken in the service of the Corporation. During the period of training selected candidates may be allowed stipends.

Permanent training centres have been established at the headquarters of the five zones to train development personnel on the professional aspects of sales and servicing.

banking

Among the employees in commercial establishments, bank employees enjoy a special position, in as much as banking plays a key role in modern economic life. The white-collar employees in banks, other than those occupying executive posts, belong to the core of India's middle class and their problems are almost symptomatic of the problems of the middle class in cities and urban areas. In the absence of data on recruitment methods, it is difficult to suggest whether any uniform policy is operative in the recruitment of employees in either Banking or commercial establishments.

working journalists

The term "Working Journalist" means, according to the definition in the Working Journalists (Condition of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1959, "a person whose principal avocation is that of a journalist and who is employed as such in, or in relation to, any newspaper establishment, and includes an editor, a leader-writer, news editor, sub-editor, feature writer, copy-holder, reporter, correspondent, cartoonist, news photographer and proof reader" (196, p. 129).

A systematic attempt at regulating the conditions of service of working journalists originated on 3 October, 1952, when the

Government of India appointed a Press Commission to examine, inter alia, the method of recruitment, training, scales of remuneration, benefits and other conditions of employment of working journalists, settlement of disputes affecting them and factors which influence the establishment and maintenance of high professional standards. The Commission submitted its report to the Government of India and a formal summary of it was released on 17 July, 1954.

The Commission noted that there was no well-defined system of recruitment to the editorial staff of the newspapers. It enjoined immediate improvements in the methods of recruitment. It recommended that the proprietor should invariably make appointments and issue letters of appointment only on the recommendation of the editor, assisted, whenever possible, by a Committee or Staff Council.

The Commission also discussed in its report the question of the qualifications required of a journalist, the academic training and apprenticeship, methods of recruitment and promotion.

nursing

Nursing is a service of supreme importance in the efforts to improve standards of health and welfare in all nations. The conditions in which nurses are employed and perform their functions affect their ability to develop and use their professional and technical skills and to render the full quota of service to the well-being of the community. These conditions are, therefore, matters of serious concern to everybody everywhere.

“The nurse’s life is not an easy one by any means”, says Rajkumari Amrit Kaur in her Foreword to the Handbook of the Trained Nurses Association of India, “and in India, in particular, it is more difficult than in the advanced countries where the nursing profession has made a special niche for itself and where the public, no less than the doctor, recognised the impossibility of running an institution or saving the lives of patients without trained nurses” (196, p. 147).

Recruitment of nursing staff is done in some cases directly

by the institutions concerned by reference to the employment exchanges, by advertisement and by direct contact with training schools and individuals. In the Government Nursing Services recruitment is usually done by the office of the Director of Health Services. Senior posts such as those of matrons, may be filled on the recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

teaching

Education is a state subject, and the employment of teachers is governed by rules framed by the State Governments and the managing committees of private schools and colleges. Practices may differ from state to state and even between rural and urban areas in the same state. The general procedure of recruitment in cities, however, is direct by advertisement, by reference to employment exchanges, and by contact with training schools and individuals. In Government Educational Services recruitment is effected by the office of the Director of Public Instruction. Senior posts such as those of Principals and Inspectors of schools may be occupied either by promotion or on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission of the state concerned.

shops and commercial offices

Recruitment of workers in shops and commercial offices is generally made on an individual basis. Conditions of service are settled by market conditions, usage, rates prevailing in the area and the standing of the firms. For senior positions or positions which need persons of special or technical qualifications or experience advertisements are made through local newspapers.

armed forces

The Armed forces offer a variety of careers. While recruitment

to the ranks is made by the army recruiting centres established by the Defence department in the states, recruitment to the officer cadre of the three services which are open to all unmarried male citizens, is made by a preliminary examination held by the Union Public Service Commission. In the Air Force, for the Accounts and Education Branches and Technical Branch, however, marriage is no bar to recruitment.

The main channel for entry into the commissioned ranks of India's Armed forces is the National Defence Academy at Kharakvasla, near Poona. The large majority of officers now in the Army, Navy and Air Force are the product of this premier interservices training institution. During the emergency, however, direct commission is granted to a certain category of persons, who are considered at an approximate time for permanent regular commissions in the army, if found eligible and suitable in all respects (156).

review of the present recruitment practices

The most common feature of recruitment of labour in industry has been the contract system through which labour is recruited by paid or commissioned agents who are termed Sirdar, Mistry, Mukadam, Tindal or Chowdhury. The contractors are held responsible not only for recruiting the labour but also for their conduct. The reason is that Indian labour has not yet reached that stage of development and mobility where the intermediary for recruitment can be easily dispensed with; and under existing circumstances, in the absence of alternative agencies, the jobber, or his various namesakes, has to be accepted as an inevitable factor. The jobber's close touch with the recruiting districts and villages and his understanding and the appreciation of the habits, hopes and fears of the workers, render his position more advantageous as compared to direct agencies of recruitment, in view of the latter's comparative aloofness.

Many of the Private sector companies recruit their workers from among the sons and relatives of existing employees. This

is done to ensure the stability of the labour force. Very often apprentices are also recruited on this basis. Preference for "the sons of the soil" is also one of the determining factors in recruitment in many industries (253). In the textile industry appointments for higher posts are very often made from amongst relatives of the employers or of the directors of joint-stock concerns, and this system extends to certain other industries as well. In the engineering industry, there is a considerable concentration of particular communities, and men are selected irrespective of merit if they belong to those communities (141).

The picture is not very different in the Public sector undertakings in which there is a concentration of I.C.S. officers in top positions. The report of the committee appointed by the Government to report on the filling of top posts in the Public sector undertakings (528), says that two-thirds of the 74 top jobs are held by members of the Indian Civil Service. The committee suggests that the panel of names of persons suitable for such appointments should be prepared so that the Government can choose from it when a particular post has to be filled. The present procedure of recruitment has been called "random" by the committee.

The committee has recommended that all possible sources of recruitment should be tapped to fill up these posts, by which the committee has meant whole-time Chief Executives (Chairman or Managing Director), General Managers or project administrators working as executive heads of units, other full-time directors and financial advisers drawing salaries ranging from Rs. 2000/- to Rs. 4000/- a month. The committee further recommends that appointment to those posts should be made on a contract basis for a minimum period of four years (for retired persons the period should be two to three years) (550).

The strongest criticism of the current recruitment procedures has come from the former finance minister, T. T. Krishnamachari (525). The present method of recruitment in public services, according to him, was a complete failure. Key jobs should be given to persons with a certain amount of ex-

perience and initiative. Mere seniority should not be enough. Persons with aptitude and ability for more responsible jobs should be encouraged. He recommended experiments to find out who would suit which job.

The minister described the present method of assessment by the Union Public Service Commission as moribund and said appointment as selectors was considered a sort of recompense for retired men. Such men should strive to get into politics or the cabinet. He added, "what the UPSC needed was 'vibrant' men".

Awareness of the evil effects of the prevalent recruitment practices, the exigencies of the 2nd World War, and the need for an industrial labour force in India have brought about certain changes in the recruitment practices of labour. One of these is the establishment of a network of employment exchanges in the country.

The Employment Exchanges were set up with the object of resettling the demobilized members of the Defence Services and discharged workers engaged in war work. The Royal Commission discounted the utility of Employment Exchanges as an instrument of reducing unemployment. The Labour Investigation Commission, however, opined that they will at least remove the abuses of the present system of recruitment and save employers the trouble and expenses of active recruiting (141).

Reviewing the progress and the work done by Employment Exchanges in the country, *the Indian Labour Year Book*, 1960 (146) states that at the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan there were 135 Employment Exchanges in the country. The total number of Employment Exchanges at the end of November 1960 was 352 (excluding 20 University Employment Bureaux) (158). The following table shows the increase in the number of exchanges and the volume of work done by them over the period 1951-1963.

It will be seen from Table I that while the number of exchanges, users and registrations have greatly increased, the number of placements are not very impressive. "The effect of employment exchanges has been largely peripheral" (449).

TABLE I

Showing Employment Service Statistics 1951-1963

Year	No. of Exchanges	Monthly average number of employers using the exchanges	No. of vacancies notified	No. of registration	No. of applicants placed in employment	No. of applicants on the live register
1951	126	6,364	4,86,534	13,75,351	4,16,858	3,28,719
1952	131	6,023	4,29,551	14,76,699	3,57,828	4,37,571
1953	126	4,320	2,56,703	14,08,800	1,85,443	5,22,360
1954	128	4,360	2,39,875	15,65,497	1,62,451	6,09,780
1955	136	4,880	2,80,523	15,84,024	1,69,735	6,91,958
1956	143	5,346	2,96,618	16,69,895	1,89,855	7,59,503
1957	181	5,632	2,97,188	17,74,668	1,92,831	9,22,099
1958	212	6,485	3,64,884	22,03,888	2,33,320	11,83,299
1959	244	7,470	4,24,393	24,68,448	2,71,131	14,20,091
1960	296	8,807	5,20,330	27,32,543	3,05,553	16,06,242
*1961	325	10,397	70,839	32,30,314	4,04,077	18,32,703
*1962	342	11,472	7,90,445	38,44,902	4,58,085	23,79,530
*1963	352	13,452	8,33,595	38,37,995	4,90,894	26,05,715

SOURCES: Digest of Indian Labour Statistics, 1961, table 3, 1, p. 47, and *India, 1964, table 191, p. 336.

While Employment Exchanges are an improvement on primitive methods of recruitment, they too have their own defects. B. Ganapathy (124) complains that employment exchanges do not generally have a good presentation of candidates; inexperienced hands are more inclined to register their names with the exchanges since that alone would offer them an opportunity for interview. Further, these exchanges take an abnormally long time to place suitable candidates at the disposal of an indentor. Intimation of vacancies in the order of priority of registration is not practised.

With the enforcement of the Employment Exchanges Compulsory Notification Act, 1959, requiring all employers to notify vacancies to the Employment Exchanges, however, more and more vacancies are being notified by the private sector to the Employment Exchanges (146) which are performing the task of bringing the employer and worker together and are leaving the task of final selection to the employer.

summary and conclusions

Recruitment is the first step in the development of the industrial labour force. It involves many processes such as selecting, hiring and assigning persons to jobs. Apart from agriculture in which the main bulk of the Indian labour force is engaged and which has its own peculiarity of employment practices, industries and plantations also recruit a large amount of labour. The methods of recruitment range from the primitive practice of contract recruitment through recruitment by managers.

Different industries resort to different recruitment methods. Of the methods studied in this chapter four methods appear to be in use in various degrees in different establishments: Indirect recruitment or recruitment through intermediaries; Direct recruitment or recruitment through an employed authority; Recruitment through advertisement or open competition; and Recruitment through Employment Exchanges. Establishments use one or sometimes a combination of methods

considered suitable for the categories of jobs for which recruitment is made.

In the lowest rung of industrial labour the most prevalent method is indirect recruitment in which recruitment is made by the intermediaries. The intermediaries act as contractors or sub-contractors and also as supervisors on the work site. Gradually the method of indirect recruitment is yielding place to recruitment through an agency set up by the management or employment exchanges. Semi-skilled labour is obtained either through promotion from among the unskilled labour or again through contractors. It is mostly the skilled labour that is recruited by the advertisement of posts in the local newspapers or through Employment exchanges. Mining and petroleum industries in particular still employ contract labour and have, therefore, the greatest dependence on intermediaries.

Recruitment of workers for non-manual or white collar-jobs including professional and technical is made by advertising the posts in newspapers and by making the final selection by interview. In the Public Sector or in Government departments workers are recruited both by the individual departmental heads as well as by the Public Service Commission constituted by an act of parliament. In either case posts are advertised in the newspapers and final selection made by interviewing the candidates. Candidates registered with the employment exchanges are also considered along with the other applicants for recruitment. In the event of recruitment being made by individual employers, arbitrary criteria of selection are used.

In almost every field of occupational activity a combination of methods of recruitment is used for selecting candidates. In the higher posts especially, although it is by no means uncommon in the middle-and-low-level jobs, appointments are based on family connections, racial and residential considerations. Qualifications, experience and suitability are not always the sole considerations for appointment. Although more and more workers are registering with the employment exchanges, recruitment for different jobs continues to be the concern of the employing authorities. In the lower categories of jobs, never-

theless, employment exchanges have begun to serve the useful purpose of being the labour suppliers, thus to an extent undermining the influence of the intermediaries.

Selecting personnel is a highly specialized job. Our employment exchanges do not deal with scientific and technical personnel and they fail to cope with the growing need. Like other countries such as the U.S.A. and Germany, India also needs a number of specialized agencies who invariably keep track of job opportunities and qualified personnel searching for such opportunities. This means that "Employment Exchanges should be transformed from passive agents, able to serve only a limited sector of the labour market, into an organization which on a broad scale, facilitates adjustments of individuals and enterprises to economic and technological development" (551). There is also need for social machinery to equip educated persons for employment in the various occupations arising out of industrialization. The issue is simply not one of distributing young workers among jobs but of matching the job and the worker. Once placed in the job the young worker should not be forgotten; there should be a follow-up to inquire whether the placing was satisfactory.

Matching Men with Jobs

worker selection

Emphasis has been laid on changing the social conditions of labour through labour legislation, and India has been aligned with this trend (141, 148). This has been further emphasized by Egonomics (198) in terms of fitting the job to the worker by making the work environment physically secure and emotionally satisfying and also by designing equipment to ensure that its operation is within the limits of human capacity. While emphasis on Egonomics will accompany emphasis on changing social conditions of labour, the need for making a scientific study of men and the occupations in order to matching men with jobs will remain paramount. The great discrepancy between the type of labour required by organized industry and that which can be supplied by the generality of the Indian population points to a vital need for devising suitable and valid methods of selecting workers who are fitting material for the new industrial set-up.

The problem of how to choose the right man and of predicting how well he will adjust when on the job is a question which has exercised the minds of psychologists and even today is a vital field of enquiry. The problem of matching men and women with jobs becomes a problem of identifying the most important characteristics or qualities of the worker, the work position generally called job analysis, and the group in reference to each work position. The greatest attention has been given to the individual and the work position, the least attention to the group. The entry of the social psychologist on the

scene has now focused our attention on the importance of the group in reference to each work position.

The principal techniques of identifying the salient qualities of the applicants as individuals or as members of a group in reference to work position, are both non-testing and testing. Among the non-testing techniques are included interviews, rating-scales, questionnaires, anecdotal and personnel records. Testing techniques consist of several kinds of projective and non-projective psychological tests of both established and doubtful validity.

non-testing techniques

Interview

The chief and commonly used non-testing technique of worker selection is the interview. It is put to use in almost every field of enterprise whether it is industry, military, law, education, or an area of social science such as psychology, sociology and anthropology. In fact, interviewing is resorted to in all professions and occupations in which human beings have to interact with other human beings and in which human relations and contacts are uppermost. Within the work situation there are three major uses of the interview. These are: employee selection, employee counselling and employee contact.

In their Employee Evaluation Manual for interviewers, Richard A. Fear and Bryan Jordon of the Psychological Corporation (105, p. 8) stress the importance of the interview as an instrument of measurement. They say, "Industry has increasingly applied the concept of measurement to the solution of personnel problems. Many progressive organizations today have adopted job rating for the establishment of wage rates, employment tests as an aid in the selection of new workers, and merit rating in the determination of employee efficiency on the job. In developing these new and important techniques, however, the potentiality of the interview as an instrument of measurement has been largely overlooked. Yet this basic tool represents the core of personnel procedures, and, as such, will

always play an important part in employee selection and upgrading."

The interviewing is meaningful if it is used not only for seeking objective data such as the educational qualifications and occupational experience of an applicant for employment, but also to obtain subjective data or the facts of inner experience, which may include data regarding likes and dislikes, interest in work, occupational preference, worries, grievances, ambitions and other motives, ideals, group and institutional loyalties, and such mental attitudes as those commonly generalized as "good will" or "unrest". In fact the interview, skilfully used, has its greatest value in obtaining knowledge not only about specific events but also about an interviewee's own attitudes, feelings, and customary behaviour. "It is in general the most dependable means of ascertaining certain facts for which records and similar objective sources are least available, namely, facts about the interviewee's own attitudes and emotional reactions" (274, p. 413).

An interview situation can also be profitably used for tapping the work-role definition of the applicant. The conception of the role the individual thinks he will play within a given work position offers a useful measure of the kind of future role which may be expected. While it is anticipated that there will be a considerable discrepancy between the stated role concept and the role as it will be performed in the work position, it nonetheless follows that vital habits and attitudes may be correctly appraised.

The process of interviewing is not easy. It is vital that a candidate be given every chance to confide in the interviewer in an atmosphere devoid of restraint and unnaturalness. Is there a set pattern that should be followed? Where human relations are concerned to set a pattern is to tread on dangerous ground. There are certain principles, however, which if adhered to will avoid many mistakes. These principles include adhering to the scheduled time of interviewing, courtesy and a warm handshake, in an attempt to place the candidate at his ease, arranging the interviewing place properly and of conducting

the interview uninterrupted by orderlies and subordinate staff or telephone calls. "Searching personal questions are not the ones to start with. Once the ice of formality is broken, information will be volunteered to a sympathetic and understanding ear. The criterion of success is not what the interviewer may have got out of it but whether the interviewee leaves with a feeling of having been given a fair hearing" (401).

One of the writers to the columns of the *Statesman* (382) has called the methods of selection "impractical methods for selecting candidates for jobs", and in protest threatened to migrate from the country for a job in a foreign country. The writer of this letter has had the experience of having been interviewed by Government officers who display a lack of human understanding, by starting the interview always with leading personal questions of irrelevance.

Interviewing can either be conducted by a single individual or a group of three or four persons, but not more. Interviewing by a single person is considered superior to interviewing by a group of persons provided the interviewer is a skilled one. In case a group of interviewers is employed one of them should be appointed as the chairman, who acts as the co-ordinator and synthesizer of the independent opinions of the other members of the board. The other members are to be guided by their own impressions of the candidate arrived at independently, instead of being the rubber stamps of the chairman's opinion.

Interviews were generally considered as not lending themselves to quantification, as the antithesis of measurement. But during the past decade or two methods of conducting and analysing interviews have been studied and improved to a point which makes it possible now to include interviewing among the list of scientific methods of assessing personality. The method, nevertheless, is time consuming and expensive. It is still so subjective that it frequently yields invalid results, but it can be used objectively.

The method of interviewing may be standardized. In the semi-structured technique, use is made of a broad topic setting questions to get the interviewee to discuss issues on his own, and

then as follow-up, more specific questions designed to induce him to focus on aspects of the topic which he has not already covered. In the structured interview there is even more standardization of technique, a planned sequence of more specific questions being posed by the interviewer.

The method of analyzing the interview may also be standardized. It is here that the technique of content analysis has recently done a great deal to make the interview a more scientific method of personality assessment, for it has been found that interviewee statements may be excerpted, categorized, and classified so as to reveal behaviour tendencies, needs, fears, values, aspirations, and other personality data in ways which are quite reliable. These are, of course, the individual's perceptions of himself when treated at the descriptive level; they may also be interpreted at deeper levels, by using the thematic analysis technique of projective method (423).

A number of weaknesses however inhere in the interview. Joseph Eaton (98) has listed three of the more serious handicaps:

1. The nature, content, and length of the interview varies widely with each interviewer and his ability to draw out different candidates.
2. The interviewer who does the rating of the candidates is himself part of the oral test. He is occupied with thinking of responses to and asking new questions of the candidate. He is emotionally influenced by the candidate's reaction to him.
3. Individual interviews are not a good measure of a man's social behaviour. The capacity to function well in the relaxing intimacy of most interview situations is not necessarily the same capacity to handle more complex social situations involving many people, as well as conflict and co-operation with them.

Vernon (574), however, thinks that the interview which is generally used for all types of selection, has been shown to vary very widely in its predictive value and even in certain cases to be quite useless. Similarly numerous studies of the employ-

ment interview, summarized by Bingham and Moor (27) have shown that as they normally work there is so little agreement among the judgment of interviewers that employment interviews have little value.

In spite of the development of new and more developed techniques of analyzing interviews, experience continues to demonstrate that in many situations interviewing techniques do not contribute to prediction for specific jobs (420). Besides finding time and meeting the cost of interviewing a large number of candidates, there are several other factors which make interviewing less useful as an instrument of employee selection. Nevertheless, in situations in which candidates are required to present their genuine attitudes and feelings, interviewing will remain a most effective instrument of personality exploration and, therefore, of selection.

Questionnaires

Another method of collecting data from the applicants is the questionnaire. Questionnaires are frequently used to collect the information which is commonly acquired through the interview. With the literate subjects who want to co-operate this is an effective time-saving method of collecting factual material which is otherwise obtainable only through a prolonged interview. In comparison with the interview it is, however, less effective as a means of gaining insight into the attitudes and feelings unless the candidates happen to be most frank and introspective. It is generally found that in order to improve appearances candidates may falsify facts and thus render questionnaires less reliable and dependable as instruments of selection.

Rating-scales

Among other non-testing techniques used for employee selection and evaluation are rating-scales. Rating-scales although they resemble tests in that they attempt to quantify evidence and to be objective are very much a subjective technique. A great deal of research summarized by Symonds (425)

has demonstrated that despite their objective appearance rating-scales are a very subjective technique, being fundamentally the recording of opinions.

The appraisal of performance by merit-rating has been the subject of many detailed psychological studies. This is to be expected for the process involves essentially a systematic evaluation of the individual by another and thus introduces the "human factor" very directly. In this field the main body of research is devoted to the construction and development of the rating-forms, of which there exist a large number of varieties. Many have been introduced on an ad hoc or amateurish basis; many have been borrowed from other sources and translated into situations in which they are no longer suitable; many contain defects which result from ignorance of some principles that have been more or less well established by research.

Merit-rating is introduced to serve two purposes. First, it is intended to enable the individual who is being rated to improve his performance. To this end the written assessment is often supplemented by an appraised interview. The values of these procedures have often been shown to be ineffective; it seems legitimate to doubt, for example, whether personality traits, which are frequently included as sub-headings in merit-rating can be much changed by such devices. Relatively little research has been made on this issue directly.

Secondly, merit-rating is designed to provide the organization with a measure of the individual's job success, as a basis on which to pay him more, promote him or train him. The rating is thus used by the psychologists as the criterion against which to determine the success of selection or training procedures. "It can safely be stated that merit-rating provides a continuing subject for applied research in addition to raising more general theoretical problems which require extensive investigation" (195).

An improved version of the rating-scale is the anecdotal record, which calls for the description of behaviour in concrete situations.

Personnel records

Business enterprises make an extensive use of personnel records as a means of employee evaluation, selection and upgrading. But the way these records are kept render their use very dubious. They are often sketchy and contain little information about the abilities, interests, personality traits, background or family situation of the person in question. The use of personnel records in business and industry has been discussed by Scott and others (371) and also by Moore (283).

testing techniques

Psychological tests

Among the testing techniques are included psychological tests which diagnose learning ability, mechanical aptitude, dexterity, and personality traits. The intelligence tests which are very widely used are, therefore, commonly known. Other tests which are not as commonly known as intelligence tests are, nonetheless, part of a modern personnel selection programme. Most of these tests are of a pencil and paper type.

The great advantage of such tests is their objective nature and scoring. They are easy to administer, economical in construction and can be given to a large number of candidates in uniform conditions. When quantitative measures are carefully secured by the use of reliable and valid tests, human bias is almost completely removed from the test. Unfortunately, the variables which have been reduced to precise quantitative measures are not those which have demonstrated a very high correlation with successful job placement. Numerous American studies have shown that inability to get along with fellow workers and superiors is more frequent than inefficiency in causing dismissal of workers (38). Dr. McMurry (264) feels that in selection too much stress is laid on the academic record, high IQ and good appearance. In his opinion more important are stability, industriousness, loyalty, self-reliance, ability to get along with fellow workers, willingness to lead and take responsibility.

Despite the great progress in psychological testing since World War I, the variety of characteristics which can be measured still leave a great deal to be desired. The measuring instruments we now use even for the most adequately measured traits such as intelligence and vocational interests are still crude and only half-understood; those for measuring personality traits such as general adjustment, introversion and the need for recognition are still in an embryonic stage; and there are no methods of testing creative imagination, on which so much progress of the society depends (34), persistence and certain other traits and abilities which are often assumed to be important and which laboratory studies and other types of investigations suggest may actually exist.

For these reasons the psychological study of a person's ability and personality traits, unless the purpose is solely screening, requires more than testing techniques. When a suitable test is available, its use will generally save time and obtain the information in a more objective, valid, and usable form than would otherwise be the case. This is specially true of intelligence, and it also applies to a variety of other traits. But some tests measure aspects of ability or interest which are so narrow as to make their use dangerously misleading unless the data obtained with them are thought of as being only one small part of the aptitude picture. It seems to indicate that other techniques besides the psychological tests be used to arrive at a valid judgment of the individual in order to decide whether he possesses the required talent.

Psychological tests can be classified in several ways. They can be classified according to form, purpose and content, or they can be classified into two broad categories: tests seeking to measure the maximum performance of which the individual is capable, and tests seeking to determine the typical behaviour. Cronbach (81) has organized test evaluation around these two categories of maximum and typical performance. On the other hand, tests can also be grouped in their factorial dimensions. Super (420) has grouped tests into the factorial dimensions in which they seem to cluster empirically.

objective tests

Tests may be grouped according to their characteristics. Objective tests are often distinguished from subjective tests, on account of the advantage they have in scoring. In objective tests responses are scored or summarized in such a way that all judges would agree as to the score assigned or the analysis made for each person. True-false tests, arithmetic tests, measures of speed for tapping are representative objective procedures. Subjective tests permit a subjective judgment of the examiner to affect the score assigned. Typical essay examinations, ratings of quality of art or sewing, and estimates of personality characteristics from observation are subjective, at least to some degree. Research has amply demonstrated that carefully constructed essay-type tests are more valid for achieving certain objectives than the new type objective tests. It has become increasingly apparent that we cannot eliminate from consideration the subjective judgments of capable, well-trained teachers who know their pupils and who can, through this knowledge, interpret their written expression.

group tests

Tests can also be grouped into group tests and individual tests. The difference between these two types of tests is not the difference in their structure, but the way they are used. Group tests are used for testing a group of subjects at a time, although they can also be used for testing subjects individually. Similarly, some individual tests have been modified and simplified so that group administration is also possible. A good example is Rorschach's test of personality. In individual testing the Rorschach ink-blot card is used. The subject is asked to state orally what the blot looks like to him. The tester questions about each response of the testee until the tester is sure just what the testee sees. In the group form, the blots are placed on slides and projected on a screen, while subjects write their responses, and individual questioning is omitted.

speed and power tests

Another grouping of tests is speed tests contrasted to power tests of ability. Speed tests are meant to measure the speed with which the subject can complete the given task. Some of the speed tests, however, are to be completed within a predetermined time. Power tests, also known as unspeeded tests or work-limit tests, face the subject with a set of problems of increasing difficulty. The subject is asked to do as many problems as he can without any regard to the amount of time he may take.

performance tests

Tests may also be grouped according to the purpose for which they are developed. This is the reason why the psychological tests of maximum performance are referred to as mental tests, intelligence tests, aptitude tests, prognostic tests, tests of special abilities, psychomotor tests, achievement tests, etc. Mental tests are tests of ability to perform mental tasks. The term "intelligence test", while not rigidly used, usually refers to procedures attempting to measure the general, overall mental ability of the individual. Aptitude and prognostic tests predict performance or learning in a new situation; one might have an aptitude test for dentistry, or for carpentry, or for music. Special ability tests attempt to measure some limited performance such as numerical reasoning or colour vision. Psychomotor tests measure performance of adaptive physical activities; tests of co-ordination in skilled acts, speed of complex reactions, and steadiness are frequently used. Achievement tests are used to determine how much a person has learned from some experience such as schooling.

Although some system of classifying tests is a convenience, all such divisions are arbitrary. One of the striking trends is the breakdown of traditional division lines. There are intelligence tests which are used for personality diagnosis, as there are personality tests which give useful estimates of intelligence.

In the use of tests, the counsellor is to remain on his guard,

because (a) certain tests have a low validity. In other words, the tests may not test a certain characteristic to the extent to which they ought to, and (b) they may not test the characteristic which they claim they do. The fault may lie with the correlation technique which is generally used for validating the instrument or the population on which the test has been standardized may be different from the population on which it is used. For example, tests standardized for a white population are not valid for a negro one. Similarly, tests standardized for a Western population are not valid for an Asian one. Tests standardized for one socio-economic group may not be suitable for another; tests which are suitable for an urban population may not be so for a rural population. Tests are generally effective when applied on groups but may not turn out to be valid for individual testing. Even when applied on groups test results should be supplemented with information from other sources (435).

situation tests

Among other methods are included situation tests. The situation test is one in which the examinee is put in a partly prearranged but real life-situation and his behaviour noted and analysed. The technique first developed by German psychologists (104) was experimented with in the selection of reserve officers at Harvard under Murray and was used extensively by the office of the Strategic Services under Murray's direction during World War II, to select personnel for military intelligence duties. Use in other branches of the services was light. Clinicians have adopted these tests primarily because of the observations they permit; such tests are especially helpful in studying thinking habits and reactions to emotion-provoking situations.

More complex are the Oss tests based on German and British methods. In one group candidates for the intelligence services are directed to lift a heavy eight-foot log, and themselves, over two walls ten feet apart, and separated by an

imaginary bottomless chasm. Observers note which men take initiative and leadership, how they direct others, how they accept directions, and other similar characteristics (81). The Indian Army which has inherited many of its procedures from the British Army also gives similar selection tests to the candidates for officer commissions in the army. In the Indian Army selection programme (401) the outdoor test may take the form of tying two ropes one above the other apart between two trees, the bottom rope being 4 feet off the ground. The candidate stands on the lower rope at one end, supporting himself with his hands on the rope above, and is required to proceed to the other end in any manner he chooses. Complications set in as he proceeds because of the increasing sag between the ropes, and he soon finds himself in the plight of being stretched to the full extent of his arms above his head, with his feet perched insecurely on a swaying rope. It is now that the mental processes begin to manifest themselves quite clearly to his observer.

One test likely to have widespread importance is the psycho-drama, or the socio-drama. The socio-drama methods have been experimented with in the American, British, Australian and South African armies. The psycho-drama is being experimented with by psychologists for clinical diagnosis. Psycho-drama or the role-playing tests have been derived from J. L. Moreno's "Psychodrama", which although originally developed as a therapeutic procedure for psychiatric purposes has more recently been shown to have excellent diagnostic value in sizing up a man's tendencies to take a dominant or subordinate role in a social situation, as well as his tact, resourcefulness, forcefulness, ability to take criticism, and other important personal and social characteristics (285).

The principal use of situation tests has been for research in character, frustration, and similar characteristics that are difficult to observe. If one had information about the intellectual processes, the emotional reactions, and the social behaviour of a person, he would know about the most significant areas of personality. It is the third of these factors that is tapped by

tests of leadership, co-operation, reaction to authority, and so on. Tests of interpersonal behaviour have become increasingly significant as psychology has extended its interests to the psychology of the group. In addition to the research interests of social psychology, tests of social behaviour have major importance for selecting leaders in all fields. Military psychology has pioneered these techniques.

Writing about the usefulness of locating the applicant in a specific test situation, in order to study his reactions, Somdutt (401) suggests that such measures are not always possible, particularly in commercial circles, where an easier variant could be the group discussion method. This constitutes the grouping of, say, six candidates around a table and posing a controversial subject for discussion. The assessing officers sit quietly in the background, offering no comment at all but making their own observations. He describes the scene in the following words:

The initial silence in the group is broken by one person who feels he must get in first; and he states his opinion without having given it due thought. He is pounced upon by those who think differently but are motivated more by a desire to criticize than by conviction of their utterances. Discussion then begins, some showing intolerance of others' views, loudly proclaiming their own, under the impression that the volume of sound compensates for lack of reasoning. Others state something of note but, because of timidity or shyness they are inaudible. Still others say something for effect, looking round for approbation. Then one individual taking advantage of a lull in the conversation, expresses his views firmly, having marshalled his facts and is immediately the centre of attention. He takes control of the situation.

The validity of situation tests in some respects is open to question. The man is placed in a standard situation, and how he reacts is unimpeachable evidence of honesty, frustrability, thinking methods, and so on at that time in that situation. The difficulty lies in inferring how he will act on other occasions and in other situations. Besides judgment by several

judges is a costly method, but it may be essential to reach sound judgment.

As predictor they seem to have promise, according to military experience. Presumably when analysts can study the personality with many tests and arrive at a coherent and consistent picture of the individual, the individual tests must be sound. But there is no criterion to show whether a test has correctly laid bare the inner personality structure of the subject. We must necessarily await further research before generalizing about observations in test situations.

job analysis

The problem of placement is the problem of selecting the most suitable work position for the selected worker and therefore deals with the means of judging the job in relation with the personal characteristics of the individual. The problem can be broken down in its four aspects: (i) analysis of the individual, (ii) analysis of the job, (iii) analysis of the work group, and finally, (iv) matching the salient characteristics of the worker, the job and the work group.

The assessment of a job in terms of its component parts is called by several names. The purpose for which a job is assessed determines the name of the process. The current titles given to different types of assessments are called job analysis, a method that is meant to break down the job in terms of its requirements of the human abilities necessary for its performance and for constructing tests (195; 420); job description or job specification which implies spelling out the job in terms of duties and responsibilities to be performed by the worker by virtue of his office or position; and job evaluation which is relatively a new technique of analysing the job in terms of the grade, factor and degree for comparing different jobs in terms of content in order to determine the wage structure of the workers working on the same type of job in different conditions or on different jobs in similar conditions (200).

There is a variety of approaches that may be used in the study of the nature and requirements of a job or an occupation. In practice there is not necessarily one method of job analysis; it is more likely that there are several which will yield valuable information, and that more than one must be used if adequate data are to be made available as a basis for selecting or devising tests.

A complete job description explains what the worker does, how he does it, and why he does it? In short, a complete job analysis lists those specific and basic factors of the job which distinguish it from other jobs. A fairly common set of job factors which are examined for differences include skill, responsibility, physical effort and working condition. The assembly of job description and job analysis data for a given job ordinarily is called a job specification. When a new employee is hired it is considered that an excellent placement has been made when the personal qualities of the employee match the requirements of the job specification. The ideal placement requires that reliable and valid measures of selection and job analysis have been used to insure that the decision to place a worker on a given job is an accurate judgment of his future performance.

The psychological factors or characteristics of jobs provide the job analyst with his major technical problem. Admirably complete definitions now exist of the duties performed and the skills and tools used on a wide range of jobs. For many purposes, such definitions are not adequate and need to be supplemented by descriptions in psychological terms, for example, the personality satisfactions to be expected from the job, the type of working relationships involved, or the difficulties and distastes inherent in it. Variables such as these also need to be taken into account for identifying "job families" or "clusters". It has been predicted that more work will be devoted in the next few years to these problems, although the inherent difficulty of the task leaves doubt as to its ultimate success. More valid and reliable job psychographs will also be developed in due course (306).

the work group

Each placement of a worker is a social placement. This is true because the worker must take his place within a work group. If he is to achieve high-level efficiency and personal satisfaction he must be able to perform the job well and to accept and be accepted in the work group. It is no accident that people in order to appraise the work placement of another ask the familiar question, "Do you like to work there?" The job abstracted from its social meaning becomes a word which has no meaning in reality. For this reason it is preferable to speak of the work group.

The most difficult but the most important aspect of social placement is correct group assignment. If a worker does not come to feel that he belongs in the group to which he is assigned he will not be a happy worker and in the long run he will not be a satisfactory one. Even if his performance meets job standards his interaction with other workers is quite likely to be disruptive of either morale or that of his work group or perhaps both.

The personnel function as it applies to group assignment is twofold in nature. First, the worker must be placed in the group within which he can play a work role that fits the group's expectations. Second, he must find himself attracted to the group and the group in turn must at least accept him. Unless this condition of mutual acceptance is met, the placement of the worker is unstable. Dissatisfaction, grievance, and termination are products of poor social placement.

The industrial sociologists have begun to identify the more important factors which locate the work-role definitions as made by workers in the innumerable work groups. Although the interactional patterns of many groupings which arise will not be subject to direct control, it is possible to so improve the social placements of workers and to stimulate more cohesive work groups (274).

a programme of personnel selection

In industrial and business personnel work, good selection is the crucial thing in securing well-adjusted employees, others in which helping them to understand themselves and their situation better is most important, and still others in which good induction into the new company and trying out a variety of activities are the key to developing effective employees. An effective personnel programme relies on a combination of such procedures. To become so absorbed in the mechanics or dynamics of one aspect of personnel work as to lose sight of the others or to depend exclusively on one or two rather than using a combination of all three is to impose unnecessary limitation upon the effectiveness of the programme of selection (420).

There is much that industry can learn in the selection of its personnel from the programme used by the army in the selection of officers. The Indian Army practices serve as a good model for an industry or a business which has to employ a large number of workers, including executives. An outline of the programme of Army officer selection has been mapped out by Major-General Somdutt (401).

The programme consists of intelligence tests which indicate the I.Q. or intelligence quotient. Psychiatric tests by which personality traits are gauged come next and then group performance tests. The last of the test series is the interview. While readymade tests do have a low predictability for selection purposes, custom-built tests may prove quite reliable for the screening of applicants because of their relative simplicity of validation, control over the job situation and also because of a relatively simple criterion. This is borne out by the claims of the Services Selection Board (SSB). Their claim is that their method of selection is based on scientific study and modern techniques and that at least in 99.5% of the cases their selection has been found to be correct, although hardly substantiated by the personal experience of an applicant whom it took nine attempts in seven years to get through the

SSB. In his words: "Twice I was selected at the interview itself but rejected on account of my low position in the merit list" (477).

The SSB has three sets of examiners who act separately and judge a candidate from three different angles. The examiners do not compare the results of their independent observations till they meet on the last day of the camp to pronounce the verdict of the Board. The candidates have to stay at the selection centre for four days and the programme of selection is spread over three days.

Psychologists conduct intelligence and psychological tests through simple questions and answers—story writing, sentence making, etc.—all theoretical. Their purpose is to see a candidate in his true colours—unmasked and bare of superficial attitudes. The time allowed is short and a candidate's impulses, passions, mental conflicts, attitudes to life, courage, reason, etc., are garnered by the psychologists.

The next set of examiners, called group-testing officers, take charge of small groups of candidates and subject them to various types of tests—mostly physical, a few oral. The group-testing officers try to measure the standard of physical fitness, mental balance, power of argument, leadership, decision-making and sense of co-operation through individual obstacles, group obstacles, semi-group obstacles, group discussions, group planning and individual lectures.

The last set of examiners are the interviewing officers, the President and Deputy President of the SSB, who hold personal interviews and observe the performance of those whom they will actually meet during some of the tests conducted by the GTO.

In the absence of the validity of each test separately and in combination it is difficult to sit in judgment on the effectiveness of the selection techniques of the Indian Army. We have, therefore, to wait until more information is released. The programme, however, appears to be comprehensive and well elaborated and can serve as a good model for selection programmes in industry and big business, as well as for the

Government, for the selection of personnel for administrative jobs which call for characteristics of higher calibre.

summary and conclusions

In order to develop an industrial labour force it is necessary that men and women should be scientifically matched with jobs. The job of matching includes selection as the first step. Several techniques are used for selection purposes. These techniques are both non-testing and testing techniques which consist of the instruments of analyzing individual performance and of appraising personal qualities. These techniques include (i) interview for the purpose of seeking the individual's definition of a prospective work role, (ii) rating-scales, questionnaires, anecdotal and personnel records, (iii) psychological tests, (iv) socio-dramatic and psycho-dramatic performance tests, (v) and the interactional chronograph method of appraising supervisory personnel which are seen to be efforts to secure measurements of personality within a social situation of simulated reality. The series of tests including socio-drama and psycho-drama are usually called situation tests.

For the reasons that tests are used carefully it is permissible to make the following generalizations:

1. The use of ready-made personality tests such as rating scales, personnel records and questionnaires for selection purposes is becoming widely discredited. Repeated studies have shown how easy it is to fake their results. The contribution of these tests to the effectiveness of selection is usually negligible.
2. The most valid tests for the widest range of jobs are those measuring intelligence. An intelligence test, however, is a blunt instrument. It requires refining in each specific situation in which it is used, and supplementing by measures of the particular aptitude which are relevant.
3. Findings differ on the value of group selection methods such as are used for example where a group of candidates are

observed while resolving a situation. On the whole, such techniques have been found useful usually as part of the procedure of selection for positions of responsibility according to results obtained not only in Europe where the original experiments were made but also in the United States, Australia, and South Africa.

4. The interview which is generally used for all types of selection has been shown to vary widely in its predictive value and even in certain cases to be quite useless. A skilled interviewer can, however, make worthwhile predictions in some circumstances.

It can be predicted that work on selection will continue for it satisfies a continuing need. Technical standards of test construction will improve, new mathematical formulae for testing data will develop, and statistical requirements will become better understood.

Apart from these everyday activities, it seems probable that increased effort will be devoted to the following five problems relating to selection.

First, there is the problem of how to select for executive positions and positions of leadership, how to identify executive or leadership ability. Many consultants are now gainfully employed in assessing executives or candidates for executive responsibility. Such work for the most part is subjective and not based upon objective psychological method. Relatively little of the work has been published. We may, therefore, expect further evidence of the value of different methods for this purpose.

Secondly, it has been suggested that there will be development in the methods of selecting individuals with creative talent. This is particularly important in many industrial activities not only for example in design but also for devising new tools and processes, new work-methods, and so on.

Thirdly, there is likely to be further research into interviewing and interviewers. The question that distinguishes a good interviewer from a poor one remains unanswered.

Fourthly, efforts will be made to develop more accurate job descriptions in terms of the Indian culture, and

Fifthly, work will be done to develop interactional chronographs so that the worker can be more accurately located in a work-group.

In order to have a reliable picture of the candidate a programme of selection should rely on a combination of several techniques and on the independent opinions of the observers. To the extent to which the subjective element of judgment is eliminated from the selection programme, to that extent will the selection be reliable.

Work Classification

the need for occupational classification

On the action level, where it is a question of finding a person to fit an available job or a job for a person seeking work, information of the greatest possible detail on the requirements of the job to be filled or on the exact potentialities of the person to be placed in employment, becomes imperative. In this case, a detailed nomenclature of occupations, supplemented by a thorough definition of each occupation, will be indispensable in the determination of the possible person to fill a job, or of the possible jobs which a person might fill. Of course, no nomenclature, however detailed, will replace the human aspects of the placement problem because of the two persons finally considered to be fit for an available job, well described and defined, one will be engaged and the other not. The reason is that not only do true skill and experience—and not simply the skill and experience which has been reported—and personal qualities become important, but also interpretation by the employer and the job seeker of the occupation, however well and clearly defined it may be. An occupational list or nomenclature of all occupations, therefore, will not only be helpful, but essential for sorting out the persons seeking work into its smallest possible categories.

Besides the need of having occupational data for sorting out the persons seeking jobs or jobs for persons, occupational classifications are of help in the analysis of current data relating to unemployment, employment possibilities, labour

markets, migration, training, wage comparisons, work injuries, occupational diseases, etc. (189).

In view of the purposeful utilization of available human resources and career development, the classification of work tends to assume a greater importance and urgency. Take for example the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (569) developed by the United States Employment Service. The dictionary contains 22,000 different jobs which are defined, with job titles. The immensity of job titles is indicative of the industrial complexity of a country, and thus calls for accumulating, organizing and digesting a vast amount of specific information. This is a task which the young men and women about to enter the labour market, and even the counsellor who constantly works with occupational information, cannot possibly hope to accomplish himself. The information must be reduced to more manageable dimensions. It is for this reason that a variety of systems of classifying occupations has been developed.

methods of classifying occupations

A method is a scheme used in order to achieve certain purposes. Whatever may be the purpose underlying a certain scheme, it ultimately determines the method of classifying occupations. The purpose generally is the use to which occupational data are to be put. This will explain why each country has its own scheme of job classification.

The French Nomenclature Analytique des métiers et des activités individuelles, published in June 1947, is based on the principle that "according to the vocational training received, each person is attached to a training activity(activité de formation), i.e. a group combining a certain number of associated occupations implying an analogous basis of training". Furthermore, each of these listed training activities has a list of properly defined occupational titles, called "métiers caractéristiques". These métiers caractéristiques refer only to skilled occupations and are defined as the aggregate

of the physiological and psychological qualities necessary for a person to carry out certain kinds of work. To those qualities, there is added the possession of knowledge acquired during apprenticeship and the period of specialization that follows it, or during a more or less lengthy period of adaptation in the workshop or factory.

The Italian occupational classification is based on the concept of occupational "affinity", which is independent of the branch of economic activity and of personal status. The Netherlands' occupational classification of 1948 is based upon the demands of reflection, initiative, exactness, experience and theoretical knowledge made by occupational situations. The occupational classification and Registration for Employment of the United Kingdom has a mixed basis of skill, industrial status and occasionally that of the material used.

There are countries in which no defined basis has been employed for classification. For example, in the United States *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (569), individual jobs are grouped under "job classifications" without defining any single criterion determining what constitutes a job classification. For some it is the duties of the jobs; for others, the industrial surroundings or circumstances in which the jobs exist. In the cases of duties performed, the determining factor may be the machines operated, or the machine attachments used, the articles produced, the materials worked on, etc. The general principle followed throughout is that jobs that require the same experience, techniques or abilities on the part of the worker are classified together. Industrial surroundings, i.e. where or under what circumstances a given set of duties is performed are used as the basis for establishing job classification in, for example, unskilled and domestic jobs.

The Standard Occupational Classification for the United States, formulated in 1938 and 1939 by an inter-departmental committee sponsored by the American Statistical Association and the Central Statistical Board, on which was based the occupational Classification utilized for tabulation of the 1940 census of the United States (570), is an attempt to picture the

socio-economic groupings of the labour force; several of the major groups of that classification are really socio-economic groups, since the occupations classified under each of them are pursued by workers in the same socio-economic class. The socio-economic aspects of the groupings are also emphasized in the preface of the same volumes: "There is no other single characteristic that tells so much about a man and his status—social, intellectual and economic—as does his occupation... the social and economic status of a people is largely determined by the social and economic status of its gainful workers ... occupation is a leading factor in many present-day social and economic problems." A main feature of this classification is the existence of the three large classes; craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers (group of skilled workers); operatives and kindred workers (semi-skilled workers); and labourers (unskilled workers); that is, a classification by level of skill.

The first International Conference of Labour Statisticians, convened in 1923, considered the desirability and possibility of an international standard classification of industries. The conference recommended a bi-polar classification based on the axes of industry in which persons were employed and the individual occupations carried on by them. In short, a double classification was recommended and in the event of this not being possible, to classify all the workers according to their occupations so that for comparative purposes two separate classifications will be available, (a) by industry and (b) by individual occupation (187).

In 1938, the committee of Statistical Experts of the League of Nations, considering the different systems of classifications of the gainfully occupied population, accepted the view, already expressed by other conferences of statisticians, that a classification according to the three following principles: (a) by branch of economic activity, (b) by personal status and (c) by individual occupation, is necessary to obtain an adequate picture of the economic and social structure of the population (232).

Ten years later, however, at the Sixth International Conference of Labour Statisticians (188) the final definition of occupation being the trade, profession or type of work performed by the individual irrespective of the branch of economic activity to which he is attached, was proposed and accepted. This conceptual scheme of occupational classification ultimately became the basis for the International standard classification of occupations.

The proposed international standard classification consists of ten major groups and nineteen sub-groups, as follows (189; pp. 53-54). This classification, however, excludes the armed forces, and the persons not previously employed, because there is no industry, industrial status, or occupation to which they may be assigned.

0. Professional, technical and related workers:
 01. Technical workers.
 02. Professors and teachers.
 03. Other professional workers, (not elsewhere classified)
1. Managerial, administrative, clerical and related workers:
 11. Managers and administrators (retail stores).
 12. Managers and administrators (except in retail stores).
 13. Clerical and related workers.
2. Sales workers.
3. Farmers, fishermen, hunters, lumbermen and related workers:
 31. Farmers, farmworkers and graziers.
 32. Fishermen, hunters and trappers.
 33. Lumbermen.
4. Workers in mine and quarry occupations.
5. Workers in operating transport occupations:
 51. Chauffeurs, drivers and delivery men (incl. tram drivers).
 52. Locomotive engineers and loco-firemen.
 53. Navigating officers, sailors and related workers.

6. Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers, (not elsewhere classified):
 - 6A. Craftsmen and production process workers:
 61. on metal and metal products.
 62. on textiles.
 63. on fabricating textile products.
 64. on wood and wood products.
 65. Stationary engineers and firemen, crane drivers and related workers.
 66. Others, except labourers.
 - 6B Labourers (except farm, mine and service):
 67. Labourers, except farm, mine and service.
7. Protective service workers.
8. Service workers (except protective).
9. Occupations unidentifiable or not reported.

The proposed terminology in so far as possible is based on occupational categories and does not include industry or industrial status terms. For example the heading "transport" has been avoided because it might have given rise to a desire to include all types of workers employed by transport departments, whereas the heading "Workers in operating transport occupations", includes those workers who are employed for operating transport vehicles. Similarly such titles as "proprietor", "employer", or "independent operator" are excluded, since these have an industrial bias, and belong to an industrial status classification. The suggested arrangement of the groups consequently, is made to emphasize the occupational character of the classification and excludes the status element inherent in the job or the level of the occupation.

national classification of occupations

In keeping with the recommendations of the Ninth International Conference of Labour Statisticians, the Government of India developed its own code of job classification entitled

"National Classification of Occupations" (144) to suit the Indian conditions. Instead of the three-digit classification a five-digit classification has been employed in the national code, which has now been adopted by the Employment Services which are its main users.

The Indian classification system is a pyramidal structure of "Occupations", "Families", "Groups", and "Divisions". Occupation has been defined by the N.C.O. (Intr. 1) as being "a trade or a profession or type of work performed by an individual, irrespective of the branch of economic activity, status or years of experience". The N.C.O. has accordingly classified occupations under families which are combined into groups and then these groups are committed to divisions as follows:

11. Divisions consisting of
75. Groups subdivided into
331. Families under which the individual occupations are classified.

The Eleven Divisions into which 75 groups of 331 families each have been grouped again with a minor variation conform to the International Standard Classification of occupations, which has only ten divisions. The eleven divisions are as follows:

0. Professional, Technical and Related workers
1. Administrative, Executive, and Managerial workers
2. Clerical and related workers
3. Sales workers
4. Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Loggers, and related workers
5. Miners, Quarrymen, and related workers
6. Workers in transport and communications occupations
- 7-8. Craftsmen, Production process workers, and Labourers not elsewhere classified.

9. Service, sports, and recreation workers
10. Workers not classifiable by occupation

The national code of occupational classification contains a brief classified description of occupations which are meant to be replaced by more detailed ones later. The present descriptions do not necessarily portray the occupations exactly as they obtain in any particular establishments but instead are the approximations of the jobs as they are performed in various occupational positions. The authors of the code, however, realize that the present classification is tentative and may change or be enlarged as changes in techniques and scientific developments in our country will demand new occupational skills.

The definitions as provided for in the code, as already claimed, will be of value in the Vocational guidance programme; placement work at employment exchanges, the standardization of nomenclature in industry, providing basic data for the purpose of manpower planning, but above all providing occupational data comparable with the international breakdown of population on occupational basis. It is, however, very doubtful if the present classification which is organized around the occupational character of the job will answer the needs of the guidance counsellors. Vocational guidance will find this classification very limited for its purpose. As we shall find we have to have a different kind of classification to fulfil the demands of guidance counsellors.

occupational classification determinants

Edwards (99) has applied stratification concepts to occupations and developed the socio-economic scale of occupations. Occupations listed in the U.S.A. Census were classified by Edwards in six major categories: 1. Professional, 2. Proprietary and managerial, 3. Clerical and sales, 4. Skilled and supervisory, 5. Semi-skilled, and 6. Unskilled. This was found to be a useful method of ordering occupational data and that

the concept of occupational hierarchy has some validity was demonstrated by the application of this scale. Occupational level, average education and income correlated very well.

This scale may prove inadequate for the Indian society which is hardly based upon the economic social order of the West. This will become clear when we compare the earnings of the managers, proprietors and executives with their counterparts in education and entertainment. Government executives and administrators are more educated, enjoy higher status but make less money than their counterparts in private industry. Similarly diplomats, ministers, I.A.S. officers and judges in our society have a more prestigious way of life but have less money-earnings than business proprietors. Cinema artistes who may be as ill-educated as many of the big businessmen, earn more money but enjoy a lower status in society. Teachers have more education, less money but more prestige when compared to their counterparts in clerical occupations in which persons may have equal education, more money but less prestige. This shows that in our society prestige and income scales are not identical. Nevertheless, there is a general belief that there does exist a relationship between education, earnings and status, i.e. the higher the education the higher the earning or the higher the earning the higher the prestige.

In our country status division can also be organized on race, religion and caste basis as has already been presented in Chapter 4. In short, classification can be done on several dimensions according to the need that division is meant to serve.

Even when applied to American society the Edwards' scale proves to be a crude approximation. A study of the occupational inequalities and inadequacies in the Edwards' scaling led Hatt (173) to suggest that the classification of occupations must be done by occupational families if it is to have meaning, for only then can a clear status system be established. Within this type of classification, the kind of stratification which could not be done consistently for occupa-

tions as a whole could be accomplished. The following occupational families were isolated: Political, Professional, Business, Recreational and Athletics, Agriculture, Manual and Military.

While Hatt's scheme is an improvement on Edwards' scales in arranging jobs in hierarchies according to status in families it proves to be inadequate in comparing jobs by status between families. The division is on a vertical rather than on a horizontal scale. In other words, this scheme allows intra-family comparison but not inter-family comparison in shift. That is, people who are in business tend to move, if they move at all, to other positions in the business field; manual workers move to other manual jobs of higher, similar, or lesser status in the manual family; military men climb the ladder of promotion or shift from one type of duty to another, within the framework of military careers. Shifts from profession to business, from business to recreational, or from recreational to political families are rare, as are other inter-family movements.

Caplow (50) points out that socio-economic classifications are based on five widely held assumptions which might be found valid for the American culture. Analysing these, he finds a common factor which he believes to be the basis of the socio-economic or of the prestige scales. The five assumptions underlying these scales and prestige attitudes in Western culture are:

1. White-collar work is superior to manual work.
2. Self-employment is superior to working for others.
3. Clean occupations are superior to dirty occupations.
4. Larger enterprises are superior to smaller enterprises in the business field but not necessarily in farming.
5. Personal service is degrading, hence it is better to work for an enterprise than to do the same work for an individual.

A campaign carried on by the Government of India against caste attitudes and also the lack of employment opportunities

in white-collar professions has relatively raised the skilled occupations in general esteem, although the newspaper reports do not substantiate this opinion. Caplow's analysis, however, seems to be valid and reflects the national standard of values which may be typically middle-class in the American culture but on closer examination may turn out to be universally applicable to our culture.

While the sociologist camp of research workers has been busy classifying occupations in terms of status and prestige, psychologists have also been busy at attempting to classify them in terms of more strictly psychological factors, particularly intelligence and interests. Burt (47) developed the first scale which ranked occupations according to intelligence to be used in Terman's studies (429) of gifted children. Definitive work, however, was done on the basis of the analyses of the data collected with the "American Army Alpha Test" of Intelligence during World War I on testing of recruits (119) and in due course with Army General Classification Test Data from World War II (406). This attempt turned out to be futile so far as grouping of men according to intelligence required for professions was made. Intelligence, therefore, was not found to correlate with occupation in these studies.

These results, however, are at variance with the Vocational guidance practice followed at some guidance centres in India (44) which conform to Burt's (48) provisional occupational classification according to the degree of intelligence. Burt had drawn up a provisional scheme in which the commoner occupations can be arranged in an intellectual hierarchy such as:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| Class | I — Higher professional and administrative work
(IQ., over 150) |
| Class | II — Lower professional, technical and executive works (IQ., 130-150) |
| Class | III — Clerical and highly skilled work (IQ., 115-130) |
| Class | IV — Skilled work (IQ., 100-115) |

- Class V — Semi-skilled work (IQ., 85-100)
Class VI — Unskilled repetitive work (IQ., 70-85)
Class VII — Casual labour (IQ., 50-70)
Class VIII — Institutional (IQ., under 50).

Writing about the application of the concept of intelligence to the ordering of occupational data, Super (423, p.38) states that "when attempts were made to classify occupations according to the amount of intelligence required (i.e. characterizing them), the groups were so heterogeneous in intelligence as well as in other important characteristics that they were found to be of minimal value. For example, while it may be helpful to know that engineering, accounting, law, and teaching are all occupations in which men of superior mental ability are found, the range of mental ability in these occupations is so great, and they are so different from each other in other respects that other classifications based on other dimensions are needed."

Another psychological factor such as interests was demonstrated to hold good for occupational classification by E. K. Strong, Jr. (408). The classification of occupations on the basis of interests which Strong thus developed is as follows, omitting occupations which do not fit into existing groups:

1. Biological science occupations.
2. Physical science occupations.
3. Sub-professional technical occupations.
4. Social welfare occupations.
5. Business detail occupations.
6. Business contact occupations.
7. Literary-legal occupations.

This classification, as stated above, is strictly empirical.

Super (423, p.40) drawing on various researches has suggested another empirical classification of occupations which is as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Scientific. | 5. Systematic (Clerical). |
| 2. Social welfare. | 6. Contact. |
| 3. Literary. | 7. Artistic. |
| 4. Material. | 8. Musical. |

There are also studies (343, 344, 345, 346, 347) which point to the existence of occupational personalities although for lack of precise instruments for measuring personality dimension, classification on personality basis is impossible to make at the present moment. In the meantime, the interest dimensions are the most useful means of classifying occupations according to role or activity.

Roe (348) developed a level and field classification of occupations "as an aid to the psychological understanding and interpretation of the role of the occupation in the life of the individual...of the relation between the occupational choice and personality". The level classification is, as in most cases, a composite of responsibility, skill, intelligence, education, and prestige. Roe's original field classification, which was modified later, consisted of 8 fields called foci of activity. These fields are:

1. Physical.
2. Social and personal service.
3. Persuasive business.
4. Government, Industry.
5. Mathematics, Physical science.
6. Biological science.
7. Humanities.
8. Arts.

Roe (349) later added six levels to her original field classification. These six levels are:

1. Professional and managerial (higher).
2. Professional and managerial (regular).
3. Semi-professional and low managerial.

4. Skilled support and maintenance.
5. Semi-skilled support and maintenance.
6. Unskilled support and maintenance.

Super (423) has suggested the retention of the Roe's "Field" and "Level" scheme of occupational classification, and addition of a third dimension namely "Enterprise". Thus he has offered a three-dimensional occupational classification for the purpose of guidance and counselling. These three dimensions are: Field, Level, and Enterprise, the ways in which occupations differ.

a four-dimensional classification of occupations

While the three-dimensional occupational classification may answer the needs of the counsellor guiding the young persons in their careers, it still leaves room for the consideration of the material or materials worked on as part of an occupational activity. The importance of including "material used" in the classification scheme increases many-fold when we consider that cultural attitudes are one of the factors in the occupational determination in India. An occupational classification in which "Level", "Field", "Enterprise" are retained as the three dimensions, and "Material" is added as the fourth dimension, may be a more appropriate scheme for classifying all the occupations in our country. Thus these four dimensions are: Field, Level, Enterprise and Material, which have been considered separately in the following pages.

Field

Researches done in the field of individual differences show that individuals differ in terms of their interests, aptitudes and personality characteristics. Similarly occupations offer scope for the use of different talents, and can consequently be organized on the basis of the talents they demand. Artistic interests in varying degrees may be in demand in dance,

drama, films and publicity. These interests may differ as to degree within themselves but not among themselves. Similarly there are occupations which demand scientific interests. To say that artistic interests are superior to scientific interests would be making a value judgment which may not be generally acceptable as valid. This will mean that interests, aptitudes, and other personality traits cannot be organized in hierarchies of superior or inferior levels such as power, prestige and status, but can be organized horizontally into fields. The inclusion of interests, aptitudes and other personality characteristics which come into play in occupations or which occupations demand for their performance call for the organization of occupations into fields which are horizontal rather than vertical. The fields into which occupations can be organized horizontally are isolated to be:

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Outdoor-Physical. | 5. Math-Physical-Sciences. |
| 2. Social-Personal. | 6. Biological-Sciences. |
| 3. Business-Contract. | 7. Humanistic. |
| 4. Administration-Control. | 8. Arts. |

Level

Another dimension in which occupations differ is the income they bestow on the individual, or the prestige, power or status which they bestow on the worker. Although there is not always a direct relationship between income and prestige, yet in most cases power, prestige, status and income correlate well. The higher the status, the more the power, prestige and income. In other words, occupations bestow higher or lower status on the individual and may demand higher or lower intelligence for their performance. In terms of these factors, occupations can be organized on a vertical concept of level: some occupations will be considered of higher social significance and some of lower. Classified thus, occupations can be arranged in the following vertical levels:

1. Professional and managerial (higher).
2. Professional and managerial (regular).
3. Semi-professional managerial (lower).
4. Skilled.
5. Semi-skilled
6. Unskilled.

enterprise

While occupations are organized horizontally in terms of psychological factors such as interests and aptitudes and vertically in terms of sociological factors such as status, power and prestige, they can also be considered in terms of the broad categories of activity or the functions. This can be illustrated by the example of the director of a firm, a farm or a government office. While these occupations may have similar interests in demand, and may bestow equal status and prestige on the individual, they may yet be different in terms of the functions that the individuals may have to perform in their capacities as director of a firm, a farm or a government department. This explains that unless occupations are organized in terms of the field of activity, namely, the enterprise, the guidance counsellors will find it difficult to guide their counselees in their choice of occupations. The different enterprises in which occupations occur and in which workers are employed are as follows:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Agriculture-forest. | 6. Finance, etc. |
| 2. Mining. | 7. Transport. |
| 3. Construction. | 8. Service. |
| 4. Manufacture. | 9. Government. |
| 5. Trade. | |

materials used

Religious caste is a powerful force in moulding the occupational attitudes in our country. It determines the nature of

the enterprise in which an individual should engage or from which an individual should abstain. Certain enterprises are taboo for members of a certain caste or religion, while for members of certain other religious castes every occupation is a worthwhile activity. Although young men are being re-oriented to the modern school of thought about jobs, cultural attitudes continue to affect them and their attitudes. It will take several decades before this attitude will be appreciably modified. Until then an occupational classification should consider this factor so that guidance counsellors are able to counsel their clients realistically. This will become clear if we consider a few cases in which religious castes influence career decisions.

A comparative study of the members of three important religions in India will illustrate this point. A Hindu or a Sikh will not engage in professions in which beef and beef products are openly handled; a Muslim will not engage in professions in which pork or ham products are openly handled; a Christian will not mind handling both these kinds of products open or packed. For a guidance counsellor to advise members of high-caste Hindu and Muslim communities to engage in enterprises contrary to their cultural attitudes will be to create hostility and apprehension regarding the function of a counsellor. Caste attitudes necessarily influence the choice of materials which the workers will willingly handle in their jobs. This explains why the fourth dimension, namely "materials used", is bound to affect any scheme of Indian job classification.

The difficulty, however, arises when we have to reduce the immensity of the kinds of material used in manufacturing products, and also when these are to be organized in hierarchies of higher and lower order to conform to the concept of "level". This difficulty can be surmounted by organizing the materials in two tiers of four each, one comprising living and finished things and the other raw and dead things. These two tiers of four living and dead each, are therefore:

- 1ST TIER :**
1. Human (living)
 2. Plant (,,)
 3. Animal (,,)
 4. Mineral (finished)

- 2ND TIER :**
1. Mineral (raw)
 2. Plant (dead)
 3. Animal (dead)
 4. Human (dead)

This arrangement of the things into living and dead will conform to the Indian cultural attitude of considering working with human beings superior to working with animals; working with the living superior to working with the dead. This will explain why a cowherd is considered superior to a tanner or a cobbler. For the same reason a farmer enjoys a higher social status than a compost-maker. Since Super's classification seems to be the most logical three-dimensional classification available, we have added the fourth dimension, namely "Material", and have presented a four-dimensional classification to suit the present-day conditions in India. These four dimensions are:

1. Field
2. Level
3. Enterprise, and
4. Material

This four-dimensional scheme of classification is meant to classify each occupation according to the field in which the activity takes place, according to the status level that is attached to the activity, according to the enterprise which differentiates this activity from other activities and in terms of the material used for the activity.

summary

In order to understand the world of work it is necessary that

occupational complexity is reduced to a comprehensible dimension. This complexity is obvious when we consider 22,000 jobs defined in the dictionary of occupational titles developed by the United States Employment Service. The world of work in India may not be that complex now but it is bound to continue to be complex as new discoveries and inventions begin to pile up giving birth to new occupations. This complexity can be reduced only by classification according to some system. No one system based on a single dimension is adequate enough for guiding the young and the confused through the world of work. This work calls for an understanding of some of the major dimensions according to which occupations can be categorized into groups which are more easy to comprehend than the entire array. With a manageable grouping of jobs the counsellor can tie his understanding of the individual with whom he is dealing, to develop a notion of where the individual fits into the scheme of things.

The available Indian classification of occupations which is based upon a single dimension of industry will not answer the needs of either the guidance counsellor or of the young men and women embarking upon careers. A new classification based upon four dimensions of field, level, enterprise and material used, is therefore, suggested.

Need for Guidance and Counselling

why guidance and counselling?

Guidance is as old as human civilization. In primitive society, guidance in everyday living is offered to the human young by the elders in the family, and to persons in distress by the family priest or the medicine man, who may conjure up the spirits of the dead or supernatural forces to help the client. The oracle at Delphi and the Roman auguries have become legendary in world history. Even in the India of today, guidance whether in personal matters, educational or vocational matters or in political matters is sought from family priest, palmist, astrologer or numerologist. Persons in high positions sometimes also fall prey to practitioners of these pseudo-sciences (236).

Modern education, however, has exposed the pitfalls in the methods of guidance practised by pseudo-scientists. Disbelief in the effectiveness of Astrology, Palmistry, Numerology, Phrenology, Physiognomy and Graphology which still hold powerful sway over a large population, has also been caused by their inability to predict or to offer valid solutions in the face of the increasing complexity of technological society, and of human personality. The element of unreliability in predictions based upon the short-cut methods of guidance is further enhanced, because of the distortion which is bound to happen in the absence of scientific investigations in the bases of the sciences on which these methods lean so heavily.

The change from primitive society, in which life is regulated by tribal sanctions and mores, to modern society, in which the individual has a large degree of personal freedom, has brought in its wake new problems. The initiation of the individual into the adult-world as well as into the world of work is no longer a family affair (409). The individual has been forced to look for guidance outside the family circle, and towards those who are more aware of the forces which are shaping our society and the individual, and are better equipped to guide the individual through the complexities of the industrial and economic life.

The two forces that have been moulding Indian society are democracy and technology. While democracy has brought within the reach of every individual the freedoms enjoined by the Indian Constitution (158) technology has been enlarging the scope within which these freedoms can be implemented. Nevertheless, both democracy and technology have ushered in problems which an individual, if left on his own, is unable to solve without professional guidance.

problems of democracy

Democracy or constitutional government has not been an unmixed blessing for the people. There has been an advancement in the economic and social spheres but it is accompanied by concentration of wealth and power in a few hands and by an enormous disparity in wealth and incomes (215). There are also voices which point to the corruption rampant among government officials and the tendency among the political leaders to serve their own ends. Idealism and democratic values are not taking roots among the people, who need a new sense of values and concept of duties (457). While there has been a keen desire among the middle-class families for better living (505), their incomes are not keeping abreast of the rising prices. This has resulted in widespread discontent and frustration, as well as the urgency for the girls to seek employment. The concentration of women in working establishments,

however, has given rise to new and complex problems of public transport and office routine and regulations.

Independence and constitutional changes had a different impact on the princely states, which until recently were the seats of splendour and luxury. The large states, however, have been able to make a more realistic compromise by turning their assets into business and other enterprises, but the small ones are verging on decadence. Money-lenders in these states have made fortunes in the last few years (300). The decline of prosperity among the princes has its counterpart in the guise the people in the princely states wear in terms of feudal snobbery. In spite of widespread distress they are still reluctant to stoop to manual work, because their hereditary occupation was cultivation (502). Rural India yet presents a different picture. Political consciousness has steadily increased among the rural masses, who have come to realize the power of the ballot box and the economic value of their votes. Instead of exercising their right of franchise in the interest of the country they sell their votes not only at national elections but also in elections to village bodies and rural institutions. The decentralization of rural administration by granting wider powers to village panchayats and co-operatives, has further transferred power to the voter, and this has resulted in the misuse of illiterate, ignorant and superstitious village masses by the more powerful element. In the absence of proper guidance, it is, however, being doubted whether it is wise to entrust the choice of a political candidate to people who are actuated either by ignorance, illiteracy, or superstition, or by motives of financial gain (512).

The social change in Indian villages is being retarded because of the lure of the cities for rural youth (193). There is a distinct urge among young men from prosperous land-owning farmer families to follow the urban concept of a gentleman. The Agro-Economic Research Centre at Santiniketan, in a study has stressed this development of village life in a report after a two-point survey in 1956 and 1960 of Kashipur village in Bankura district, West Bengal. In Kashipur, the report stated,

there was growing for the first time a section belonging mainly to prosperous farmer families, who were likely to abjure cultivation and take up white-collar jobs in towns (491). Villages are thus losing leadership potential (214).

Another tendency among the rural folk is to seek the good things of life. They have been spending more on food, clothes and the education of their children. They are seeking the new artifacts of civilization in the form of glass tumblers, china saucers and plates, and furniture instead of earthenware and chattels. During his travels in Indian villages, in order to see how the peasants were faring in a more traditionally agricultural setting, Daniel Thorner (559) saw that villagers today are living better and seeking the more expensive things of life. Old currents of thought and old miseries undoubtedly persist but new currents flow alongside. They are eating more and they have more to eat. This, however, does not mean that the difference between the urban culture and the village culture has disappeared. Even now in India the village and the city present two different sociological units, two distinctly different cultural patterns (20). Both require an intelligent body of voters and faith in education as a vehicle of social change and personal improvement for which guidance will be needed.

problems of technology

The first and obvious development of technology has been urbanization, which has brought in its wake problems alien to indigenous culture and of unhealthy conglomeration tending to retard and even paralyse the growth of human personality. This observation has the support of a socio-economic survey of nine Indian cities organized by the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission, which points out that rural populations are moving to towns in smaller numbers and are generally moving from short distances. But they are moving to metropolitan cities in larger numbers and from longer distances, sometimes from the far ends of the country. This migration has been continuing for decades almost uncontrolled,

unregulated and unguided. The result is pressure and social tension in the cities. Community cohesion and "belongingness" being absent, there appears to be a definite physical, mental and moral deterioration of life in many cities (43), which has created acute problems of law and order (23).

Nearly 203.13 lakhs or roughly 26% of the total urban population of India reside in 21 cities. Six of them, namely Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras are "Million cities" and among themselves contain roughly 17% of the total urban population. This trend in the metropolitan cities growing bigger at the cost of the surrounding villages and smaller towns, indicates a dangerous trend of unchecked urban sprawling bringing in its wake all the inadequacies and problems such as shortage of housing, creation of slums, water scarcity, insanitation, beggar problem, traffic congestion, lack of educational institutions, medical relief and recreational facilities. In fact, the shortage of almost everything all citizens need and desire (176).

Ashok Mehta (268) believes that technological advancement has brought India on the threshold of a new era. Old values are disintegrating and through social, economic, political and psychological reorientation, a new transitional society has been fast emerging. It is a great step forward to the future society in which technological progress would equip the individual with greater freedom. The transition from the agrarian to technological society, however, has not been a smooth process in India, nor has been the technological process which has weakened the moral foundations of society without replacing them by the values of technological society (315). The constant competition for survival in a city highlighted by the differences between the haves and have-nots, is a problem that cannot be solved by an individual if left to himself. These consequences can partly be alleviated and partly controlled by Guidance.

The growth and development of technology has still not reached its zenith. Revolutionary changes are taking place in the domain of technology which will not only influence

the industrial development but also human society. At the invitation of the *New Scientist*, the enterprising British journal, leading scientists from different countries representing different disciplines recently concluded a series of predictions about the state of the world in 1984 which happens to be the Orwellian year (304). Their predictions when assembled are pretty exciting. The predictions made and the problems raised have been summarized by Mr. Nigel Calder, the Editor of the *New Scientist* (513).

Some of these changes will result from revolutionary advances in science and technology such as progress in computer techniques and practice, development of new forms of energy, and fundamental discoveries in biology. Other changes will flow from an extension of existing trends, such as general industrial progress, advancement of education in general and scientific knowledge in particular, and the race between food and population. The changes will also give rise to a variety of conflicts and choices in the economic, social and political spheres; these will, for example, affect the nature of national governments, international relations, development of the poor countries, and the condition of society and the individual.

The computer revolution has already begun, and there is no doubt that in the next twenty years it will radically transform the industrial practice in the advanced countries. Large-scale automation in industry and the increasing use of electronic aids in man's daily life will be an extension of an existing trend. Technically, more revolutionary will be the role of computers in the storage and retrieval of information as well as in communication. Conventional libraries, paper work and documentation will tend to become obsolete; even abolition of newspapers seems a possibility. One might be able simply to dial for news or for a passage from Shakespeare.

It is expected that generation of power by controlled thermonuclear fusion will be demonstrated within the next two decades. Besides a considerable expansion of power generation by nuclear fission, there will be desalting sea water with the help of nuclear reactors on a large scale. This may result in a

shift of populations to regions which are now sparsely populated for lack of water and conventional energy sources. Another field in which exciting advances are expected is biology, which holds out the promise of revolutionary progress in the understanding of living systems, especially of the brain.

Combined with advances in biology are the methods of controlling and inhibiting the process of aging, underpinned by development of methods of fighting viruses, heart disease and cancer, ensuring greater longevity and improvement in public health.

The race between food and population will, however, continue. A 50% to 60% increase in world population is expected, and it is felt that in the poorer countries of Asia food production is unlikely to keep pace with the population increase. A consequence of some social significance will be that people have to eat more and more unaccustomed foods, some of them developed by new scientific techniques. But more interesting than these social and political consequences is the likely state of the individual in 1984. It has been predicted that there will be an increase in neuroses, greater use of behaviour-influencing drugs, and the invention of new gambling games. There is not likely to be a very short working week but longer holidays are expected.

The multiplication of new developments in technology will place at the command of the individual ever widening means and facilities for relaxation and new freedoms resulting in the crumbling away of old certainties, which will call for counselling services on an extensive scale.

problems of education

The expansion of education in India since independence has been phenomenal (152). It has expanded in all fields: primary, secondary, university and technical. The pattern of education which, before independence, was unitary in character has undergone a change towards diversification (145). Expansion in education is still continuing (151). More and more stress is

being placed on science (157) which has become necessary on account of the industrialization of the country and also because "Modern industry especially now that it is on the threshold of automation—relies less and less not simply on unskilled, but even on semi-skilled labour. Modern life, increasingly complicated, demands more and more educated and adaptable minds" (500).

Although educational expansion is impressive cracks in the educational edifice are already visible (122, 410). First, is the bewildering diversity in schools fostered by the boards of education in different states which follow their own criteria of selecting textbooks, raising schools to higher secondary level and in other matters. This has given rise to a multiple variety of schools at the secondary school stage including as it does middle, high, higher secondary, convent, public, basic, ashram, Sanskrit tons, polytechnics, multipurpose higher secondary and a host of others even in the same state. Added to it is "the dead weight of an artificial examination system of a totally unimaginative curriculum" (243), which destroys creativity. This has led not only to the lowering of the academic standards but has added to the bewilderment of the student as to which he should choose for a career in the absence of guidance and counselling services.

Equally important and urgent is the need to diversify secondary education in the country, both horizontally and vertically. Shukla (556) suggests that all vocational or semi-vocational courses in educational institutions should be job-oriented and terminal in character with provision for adjustment of courses in academic subjects for the select few who still wish to seek higher education and have the capacity to benefit thereby. On the contrary, educationists complain that a boy in class VIII is yet too immature to decide whether he has an aptitude for science, arts, or agriculture. If he errs, he misses the bus for life. His entire career is doomed (492). There is hardly any assistance given to boys in developing and crystallizing their occupational goals.

The Indian Parliamentary Science Committee on

Science Education in Schools (157) states that in India there is a gulf between the kind of science that is being taught and what ought to be taught in the schools. Science is being taught in the schools and colleges in a mechanical and routine manner. The approach to understanding of science as a search for order in nature seems to be omitted in the school curriculum. The development of a scientific temper including a useful command of scientific concepts and principles, that can come about with a familiarity of language of science (40), or its vocabulary is lacking in our boys.

There is another factor which militates against the effective teaching of sciences. It is the Indian attitude to science. "Science is not a part of our cultural tradition, nor yet of intellectual fashion" (87). Our admiration for the legendary scientific genius does not spring from any genuine interest, and this remains true in spite of an enormous expansion of scientific and technical education. The change that has come about in our attitude is so far merely physical and quantitative; it is not one of temper or intellectual awareness.

The interpersonal relationship aspect of education also calls for a re-appraisal. Many of the present-day problems in the Indian universities are the result of a deterioration in teacher-student relationship. The constantly increasing number of students in our educational institutions makes close teacher-student relationship virtually impossible. Education has become a mass-produced commodity and the principle of personal communication is forgotten. This has given rise to favouritism, which is based on the support offered by the faculty to the students because of caste, community and other considerations. Even the spheres in which a personal relationship can be established, for example extra-curricular activities, are seldom attended or encouraged by the faculty (393).

problems of teaching medium

The problem of having a language which should become the medium of teaching in schools and colleges has remained

unsettled and surcharged with emotion. The main issues in education have been obscured by the language controversy, which has come to have a significance on account of the importance of regional representation in All-India Services. In spite of the fear of the Balkanization of the country, the Government has come to accept the principal regional languages as legitimate media for the U.P.S.C. examinations (549). But that does not solve the problem regarding the suitability of regional languages as the medium of teaching. S. R. Gupta (167) points out the dangers inherent in the fourteen-language formula for the U.P.S.C. examinations and emphasizes that English should be the only language in which the Centre should transact its business in order to maintain the unity of the country.

Not everybody will agree that instruction through the medium of English, although when it has been made an associate language, is the only desirable thing. There appears to be a general agreement that a combination of languages ranging according to the degree of their importance should form a nucleus of learning and teaching. This combination of languages has been called a three-language formula consisting of English, Hindi and the regional language. Under this formula, all children in India are required to learn three and sometimes four languages, if a classical language is made compulsory, as it is for the present in West Bengal for the students having Bengali or Hindi as first language opting out for the Humanities Stream after class VIII.

This three-language formula, Austin A. D'Souza (95) pleads, should be given a fair chance in our schools. In his opinion, as far as possible the teaching of languages should start as early as possible. It is too late to begin teaching a second or a third language after the age of fourteen, "when the language centres of the brain begin to harden and atrophy." The teaching of both the second and third languages should begin not later than class V or class VI. Perhaps the best plan, if the teachers and the money can be found, would be to start the second language in class III (age approximately eight years) and the

third, two years later (class V). If this is not administratively and financially feasible, the second language should begin in class V and the third in class VI.

The three-language formula if given a fair trial may not only solve the problems of teaching both at the school and college levels and make administration on the district, state and central levels more easy, but also to a great extent render admission of the children of government officials in transferable services to schools smooth. The transfer of students from one state to another and from one school to another will also be simplified.

problems of studying in foreign countries

Partly for lack of adequate facilities for research in India and partly for the prestige attendant on a foreign university degree, a large number of students are proceeding to foreign universities. Most of these students do not have any preparation for living in a foreign culture or an understanding of it. This aspect of student behaviour in a foreign university is pointed out by a correspondent to the *Statesman* (365). The Indian students with the exception of a few walk very leisurely in groups, talking loudly and enjoying their jokes. Their sluggishness looks so out of place in this setting. Some Indian students talk over the telephone in such loud tones that they can be heard three or four doors away. The same thing can be said about blowing noses etc.. "A fellow used to belch in the classroom with such reverberating 'gheoos' that the professor used to get embarrassed, and I, his classmate and countryman, used to hang my head in shame. An American asked: 'Are they the cream of India?'"

The other aspect is to deal with the cultural influence on the Indian students abroad which is perhaps of a more serious nature. The Ministry of Education refused permission to the Indian Foundation, Poona to send undergraduate students for a year's stay and study to the U.S.A. (523). One of the main considerations which engendered this refusal has been that

immature boys and girls when given such opportunities often returned with social habits which rendered them misfits in an Indian environment. Foreign education has been found injurious for immature girls and boys, because the guidance which is necessary for preparing them to adjust themselves in a foreign culture without losing the intrinsic values of their own culture has been lacking in our schools and colleges.

problems of human wastage

Connected with the expansion of education is the problem of wastage. Wastage can be interpreted in its twin sense of attrition of the school-going population and of talent. In its first sense, wastage may imply desertion from schools and failures in examinations. In its second sense, it means the non-utilization or inadequate utilization of human resources and the variety of talent available among the population.

Writing about wastage and stagnation in schools, Chitkara (69) concedes that some wastage is bound to occur in any system of education, but in India the extent of waste is generally large. He has defined "wastage" in terms of a premature withdrawal of children from schools and colleges before they have finished a full course of study, and "stagnation" by which is meant the retention of a pupil in a grade for more than one year on account of unsatisfactory progress. This is equivalent to the term Retardation, which is commonly used in international parlance.

Among the causes enumerated for wastage and retardation in Indian schools, the most important is poverty. About 65 per cent of the causes of wastage are due to this single factor. But next in importance are causes relating to inefficiency of the educational system and the lack of attractiveness in schools. Some causes of wastage are also due to parental indifference and this is particularly true at the Primary stage. Only a relatively very small number of wastage cases is due to causes like death, truancy, etc. Stagnation is the outcome of a variety of factors, the chief among which are the poor quality of

teachers, indifferent teaching, defective systems of examinations, lack of earnestness on the part of students or lack of proper environment at home, paucity or non-availability of textbooks etc., which to a great extent can be corrected by proper guidance.

The colossal wastage becomes clear when we consider the increase in the number of schools since independence and the percentage of failures in secondary school examination. While the number of secondary schools had risen from 5,000 in 1947 to 20,000 in 1964, giving an increase of 400 per cent, a recent study of examination results revealed that on an all-India basis approximately 50 per cent of the pupils who took the examination at the secondary stage failed.... This figure varied to some extent from state to state and in one or two states as many as 65 to 70% had failed in the school-leaving examination. This indicates the tragic waste "in human resources and expenditure incurred in our schools. Against this background the enrolment at the secondary stage in the 14-17 age-group had arisen from nine lakhs in 1947 to 45 lakhs in 1964 giving an increase of 400%" (556).

The University Grants Commission is perturbed over the excessive rate of failures in university examinations. About 50% of the students fail. The breakdown of the examination results shows that on an all-India basis failures were 57% in the B.A., 50.8% in the B. Com. 49% in the B.Sc., 46.6% in the M.B.B.S., 50.7% in the L.L.B. and 31% in the B.Sc. (Engineering). The Commission has recommended that universities cut down this waste of educated manpower which, compared to other countries, is perhaps the highest (485).

Causes leading to failures in university examinations according to a student (94) are an attitude of frivolousness among the students, the lackadaisical methods of teaching adopted by some professors, teaching through the regional language on the high-school level and English on the college level. Added to these are the deplorable reading habits that boys develop in the absence of proper guidance. Another cause of wastage is our present examination system. As pointed out by a UGC

study (555), the conventional examination system in India is "old-fashioned, inaccurate, and erratic" and seldom reveals the true ability of a candidate. It is pointed out in the report that 60% students fail annually, possibly because of the vagaries of the examination system. The UGC has pleaded for the inclusion of more questions requiring short answers and multiple-choice questions, with a view to reducing the number of failures to which objection can be raised on the grounds that while the students will favour this recommendation it will further lower the academic standards (488).

The Planning Commission after a factual survey of junior technical schools established during the Second Plan period has found a substantial wastage of facilities either due to a large percentage of failures or discontinuance of studies by students before completion of the courses offered by these schools. Only about 36% of students joining the schools completed their three-year studies and only half of them secured industrial employment (545).

Wastage of manpower does not occur in schools and colleges only. Outside the institutions of learning thousands of young men while away their time sitting aimlessly under wayside porticos and ledges (*rock*, in local parlance), or loitering in lanes and bylanes almost all the time. These youths (*Rock-bajes*—as they are called in colloquial Bengali) roughly belong to the three categories (246): Wealthy youth, who because of a lack of sufficient education or because of disinclination to work, have deteriorated into amiable wasters. Middle-class youth who are dependent on other family members, have an inclination to earn but either cannot do so or earn meagre salaries. And the third category is too poor and has no opportunity to do any work, or does not know how to get work.

Human waste is both intellectual (484) and technical (486). Intellectual wastage takes place because of failures and retardation in schools and colleges and technical waste because of the lack of climate in science laboratories in which talent cannot find full play. Waste also occurs when the trained

personnel are inadequately employed. A third of the total number of engineers in India is not satisfactorily employed. This has resulted in frustration and the lowering of productivity and efficiency (520). The lot of engineering graduates is bemoaned in a letter by Amitava Sen (375) to the editor of the *Statesman*. He says that certain jobs, carrying a very low salary and formerly meant for diploma holders only, are now filled with degree holders because there is a plethora of them. The future of most engineering graduates is uncertain, because "the proportion of graduates to diploma holders normally obtaining in industry required that the number qualifying for diplomas each year should be at least three times that of the graduates, and we seem to have gone ahead at the degree level somewhat faster than at the crucial diploma or craftsmen levels" (493).

Another kind of wastage occurs when instead of native personnel, foreign personnel are employed to do technical jobs replacing our own men in positions of responsibility. This aspect of waste has been touched upon by R. N. Mehrotra (271), in terms of "fetish of foreign experts" in all fields, although we are not lacking in native talent or expertise.

There is yet another aspect of technical wastage. Quite a large number of scientists migrate every year to foreign countries and settle down there permanently. There were 4,600 Indian scientists in 1964 in the U.S.A. and Europe, who were disinclined to return home unless they were granted appropriate research facilities at home. At the beginning of 1964 the number of scientific and technical personnel in the Indians Abroad section of the National Register was 8322 of which 77% were scientists and engineers, 14% medical men, and 9% described as technologists (509). Apart from the fact that among them are some of the best scientists and technicians the country has produced, the loss in skill and manpower is considerable. Among the four elements which are operative in luring young men away to foreign countries and holding them, A. Rahman (333) includes a lack of knowledge about existing facilities in India and proper student guidance.

The picture has not changed much since the introduction of the Scientists' Pool by the Government of India in 1959. The Scientists' Pool is to help well-qualified scientists returning from abroad by attaching them to scientific organizations, where they are paid a monthly stipend ranging from Rs. 400 to Rs. 700 until they secure permanent employment. Outstanding scientists within the country are also selected to the pool. The pool has been growing steadily. It had 75 scientists in 1960. The number rose to 432 in 1964. Selection to the pool is made by the Union Public Service Commission in consultation with a special recruitment board. Pool officers are attached to more than 200 organizations at present. But some scientists apparently are not satisfied with the pool. Out of those who joined the pool in the last six years, 57 have gone back to foreign countries, mainly because they were offered much higher salaries and better research facilities abroad. According to the National Register of scientists more than 11,000 Indian scientists are working in foreign countries. This figure does not represent the total number; many scientists abroad have not yet registered their names (534). Unless migration is checked by proper guidance and counselling, cities will swallow the rural talent and foreign countries the national talent, and thus render both unproductive.

problems of the middle class unemployment

It is difficult to define a middle-class family in India. A recent Government report in India defines a middle-class family as one depending mainly on income from paid non-manual employment in the non-agricultural sector. There are said to be about 2.1/2 million such families constituting about one-seventh of the country's population. The average monthly income is in the range of Rs. 150-200. As there are such categories as upper and lower middle-class, not surprisingly some incomes exceed Rs. 1000 but such are enjoyed by only 4.1/2 % of the families counted in the big cities. Income is without doubt a very important criterion. Yet earlier generations of

middle-class Indians would have refused to accept income as the sole measure of class. Their most distinguished characteristic, they would have claimed, was their education (508). Recently, more than education, what we have meant by class and employment, in the words of Dr. Zakir Husain (182), "has been the amount of salary a man drew at the end of the month, the status he possessed and the security he enjoyed."

While, on the one hand, there is intellectual and technical wastage, on the other hand, there is manpower wastage in terms of the unemployed middle-class youth, which is a typically urban phenomenon. According to the National Employment Service statistics, three million more jobs were created during the first four years of the Third Plan period. The snag is that though employment opportunities for about 13 million people were expected to be created during the Third-Plan Period, the labour force was expected to grow by about 23 million during the Fourth Plan period (551). To take the example of a single state—West Bengal—every fourth man who registers his name with the Employment Exchange is educated, possessing at least a School Final Certificate. Among these candidates there are thousands who have university degrees (499). The annual register of the National Employment Service shows that towards the end of November 1963, 26,05,715 such people were on its live registers. The total number of employment seekers of all categories was 38,38,995 (158).

The common tendency amongst middle-class youth is to go all out for white-collar jobs and to consider it beneath their dignity if they are offered anything else (558). Thousands of young men are looking for jobs that simply do not exist. The statement ascribed to a group of social scientists (Delhi, 1952) that "educated middle-class young men generally have a very unrealistic—almost romantic—conception of jobs for themselves still holds good. Employers complain that education is so ill-planned that it prepares young men for nothing definite" (439).

Another middle-class valuation is the importance of adminis-

trative to industrial and technical jobs (278). The Arts students' preference for executive jobs seems to be on the increase. A report published by the University Employment Information and Guidance Bureau, Allahabad, reveals that sixty per cent of the Arts students of Allahabad University, who obtained the First Division in the Intermediate Examination, preferred administrative and executive jobs, while only thirty per cent who secured first and second divisions respectively, wanted to become teachers. The report further reveals that more than one-third of the students, including the girls who were questioned, aspired to the civil services and nearly one-fourth wished to become teachers. While two-fifths of the boys aspired to the civil services, about two-fifths of the girls aspired to become teachers. This study is also revealing in other aspects. Very few girls and boys wanted to join other professions. Only nine per cent of the boys and double that number of the girls expressed their willingness to take up the legal profession. Only 4.5 % of the boys were thinking of going into business. Professions like journalism, painting, music and fine arts seemed to attract an infinitesimal number (298).

"What is really needed is the modification of the atmosphere in which college education is regarded as a status symbol" (490). This is difficult to achieve, because the pattern of employment in India is changing very slowly. The fault lies with the Government. The state is still the largest single employer and a degree is necessary for any one who expects even a modest place in public service. There is also the traditional Indian attitude that places a premium on education *per se*. Combined, these two have made university education a "must" for anybody who has any pretensions to status; to be without it is usually a matter of loss of face. The permanent solution of this problem lies in encouraging young people through guidance to go in for trade, commerce or industry immediately after matriculation. Training should begin even before that. "Hierarchy should not be imposed on students" is a timely warning given by Dr. Radhakrishnan (332).

This also does not appear to be a practical solution. The

Government by its policies accentuates the difference between low-paid industrial and ministerial employees, by offering bright young matriculates, after successfully completing the rigorous discipline of various trade courses, emoluments slenderer than those just suitable for the lower division clerks. "In the Government's own undertakings, industrial operatives are subjected not only to low pay, unattractive leave rules, and unsatisfactory treatment but are also made to suffer long-drawn working hours compared with their ministerial counterparts. Material conditions are thus so oriented that many of our young boys, trained in various trades, prefer to leave their trades for clerical posts, sometimes even four or five years after absorption, and thus discourage other young people from going in for industries just after matriculation" (57).

There is yet another characteristic of the educated unemployed, which sets them apart from the commonly unemployed. The middle-class young men are generally averse to moving out of their states for employment. Mobility, however, is fairly extensive at high levels. Instances are not lacking where surpluses of certain categories of educated persons are reported at some exchanges, while these very categories are in short supply in other places. The regional immobility among the educated classes thus becomes a restrictive factor in employment (138).

The reason for this immobility is the lack of guidance in helping young men in selecting proper careers. This causes the paradox between the type of personnel required and the type of personnel available. "We thus face the paradox of people saying, 'We have to take what we find and not what we want', and the inability of the highly qualified personnel to find proper openings" (599). This is due to the lack of a contact between the employers and prospective employees.

A study on the pattern of graduate-unemployed carried out on 25,785 graduates by the Ministry of Labour and Employment in 1958 (142, pp. 13-14), reports:

1. A large number of unemployed graduates were registered

in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Delhi. Among the graduates registered as unemployed, the problem of women graduates was the highest in Kerala State.

2. Among graduates registered at employment exchanges 84 per cent held a Bachelor's degree in arts, science or commerce, consisting of 48.5 per cent B.A's, 22.7 per cent B.Sc's and 12.8 per cent B.Com's. Considering, however, the relative incidence of unemployment among degree holders based on the out-turn of universities, it was more acute among graduates with B.Com, and B.Com (Hons) degrees than B.Sc. and B.A. degrees.
3. Among the unemployed graduates in arts, a large number had specialized in Economics, History, Politics and Philosophy. In a similar way, a large number of science graduates had specialized in the group of Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. But the relative incidence of unemployment as between various subject groups has not been examined.
4. Among unemployed graduates 2.3 per cent had secured first class degrees, 24.8 per cent second class degrees and the remaining 72.9 per cent third class degrees, including those who took degrees where no class was assigned. Considering, however, the relative incidence of unemployment among first class graduates, B.Com's were placed in a better situation than B.A's and B.Sc's.
5. 34.6 per cent of the unemployed graduates were aged 25 years and above as compared to 25.2 per cent of all the applicants unemployed in the same age group.
6. 76.7 per cent of the unemployed graduates had no previous employment and were looking for work for the first time. Only 23.3 per cent had reported previous employment. A high proportion of B.A's and B.Com's had previous employment as compared to B.Sc's.
7. Among the graduates 60.4 per cent sought employment in clerical posts, 19.5 per cent in professional and technical posts, 15.7 per cent in administrative and executive posts and 4.4 per cent in other types of jobs. Nearly 95 per cent of those seeking clerical posts were graduates with Bachelor's degrees in arts, science and commerce.

problems of women's education and employment

Women's education at both primary and college level is identical with men's. It is mostly at the secondary school stage that confusion is discernible. Women's educational advancement has been and is conditioned by the age of marriage, and the demands of housekeeping. Educationists and public-spirited men, however, continue to exhort girls that the role in which they could best serve the country and themselves (and the men presumably) is that of wife, mother and house-maker. As recently as 1948 the University Commission (133, p. 401) observed that "the educated woman is ahead of her time. She is lonely and 'out of place' while creating a new social atmosphere in which her daughters or grand-daughters can be natural and at home. But to some extent her discontent is due to her effort, not only to be equal to men, but to be like them in all her interests and activities." In order to counteract this tendency among college women, the Commission recommended that there should be intelligent educational guidance, by qualified men and women, to help women to get a clearer view of their real educational interests with the purpose that they shall not try to imitate men. Women's and men's education should have many elements in common, but should not in general be identical in all respects, as is usually the case now.

The recent trend in women's education, however, is contrary to what the Commission suggested of encouraging the study of home economics and home management by example and through educational counselling. The demand now by girls is for technical training of post-high-school standard. Girls want to be welders, turners, machinists, sanitary inspectors, civil engineers, draughtsmen. Women's polytechnics have been welcomed with great enthusiasm. They demand training in subjects like radio-engineering, and pharmacology and have asked for new and novel courses like architectural designing, dress-making, and interior decoration; the latter three are certainly the logical professions of tomorrow. "This trend

has nothing to do with notions of equality; it is just that these young girls of about 17 or 18 years of age are the children of the post-war period and more truly the children of the age of science than the generations before" (361).

Women are seeking entry into professions. There are certain professions which are considered taboo by the Hindu Society. Nursing is a prominent example of such professions, which Hindu women as a class avoided. Many of the Hindu fold, with a little higher education, took up midwifery and medicine. Consequently, the majority of the nurses employed in Indian hospitals belong to the Christian and Anglo-Indian communities and lower caste Hindus. Though there is an increase in the number of women in the nursing profession, there are only a little over 15,000 qualified nurses in India, while the actual and potential demand for them is something like a hundred times this number (102).

The Mudaliar Committee recommended certain targets for the ratio of nurses per population: 1:5000 by 1971; 1:2,000 in 1981 and 1:1,000 by 1991. To reach the ratio of 1:5,000 in 1971, India requires something like 1,10,940 nurses as against about 40,000 in the country today. While the caste attitudes militate against entering the nursing profession, the status of graduate nurses, is being resisted by a section of the nursing profession itself. "The old guard, consisting of non-graduate nurses, are trying to hold back the progress of nursing education. There is an ironic parallel with the older generation of scientists fighting a rearguard action against younger and better qualified scientists" (252).

Women are now also competing with men for jobs. A survey the Government of India undertook in collaboration with the universities on the employment pattern of graduates, reveals that about 25 % of women graduates are unsuccessful in their search for employment. Women have to tarry longer than men to get their first appointment. Their first preference is for teaching followed by Public Sector employment; Government offices and local bodies come next in the order of preference. There are also university graduates who remain unemployed

by choice. A significant observation in the survey has been that a major handicap in the way of women securing more employment opportunities appeared to be neither their unsuitability nor the unwillingness of the employers to absorb them, but the lack of mobility among them even when they are single and further restriction on their mobility when they change to marital status (541).

problems of leisure-time activities

Modern technology has taken much of the drudgery out of routine jobs, has transformed the primitive dirty methods of work into neat and tidy methods and at the same time has reduced the working hours by increasing the speed of work. This has resulted in saving time, and now the problem is how this spare time should be consumed profitably. This problem is no less acute with the school and college students during the off-school time and vacations. Our schools and colleges work for 210 days a year or less. The time thus left at the disposal of the students is to be cashed into activities which should be healthy, creative, and interesting.

The current use spare time is put to is usually a visit to a coffee house or a picture house. If there are part-time jobs, which can bring in some money or experience of the nature and meaning of work and training for a future career, there is no agency which can guide the young men and women to them. The young men are generally left on their own, to waste their leisure time.

Participation in activities is hampered by a lack of information about where to go and what to do and also because of a lack of familiarity with the background of the activity. "Life in big cities does not permit young men and women to recognise themselves as individuals. Every moment of their lives they live as part of a crowd" (387). Conformity to the crowd norm of behaviour and thought is forced upon the individual. Dress, artistic tastes and mode of conduct are cast in a mould. This has now become a cause of anxiety for the modern man.

In this respect schools also come under criticism. The English-medium schools especially, do not develop among the students an interest in Indian art and dance and an understanding of Indian culture. This aspect has been pointed out by Amita Ray (338) when he states that from school socials the next stride is "jam sessions" and nowadays to regular "twist sessions" in popular restaurants. The attire of the English-medium School boys "consists of trousers as narrow as 12" which if called churidars would be more appropriate. With this they put on multi-coloured shirts and pointed shoes. The boys generally adopt such crazes as Yankeeism or the Teddy Boy cult, and are more acquainted with the latest developments in the U.S.A. and in Hollywood especially. In these schools, students are given no sense of values, and no vital purpose of life is instilled into them." In this regard Indian Language medium schools may also not be found different.

Among the leisure-time activities, reading for pleasure has been recognized as universally important. Choosing one's books is as difficult as choosing one's friends or other activities. Left to themselves most of the boys and girls choose comics, or cheap literature. In view of the uncounted books pouring out of modern presses, and the increase in the number of the literate, the problem facing the reader is one of selection of suitable reading material. The complexity of what to read has become immense in modern times, because there is now so much to read and the time available to an individual, although much more now than in the past, is still insufficient to do so. One has, therefore, to choose judiciously. Discrimination in selecting one's books calls for guidance which should be offered at the school stage, and should also be made available at the adult level.

Problems of social attitudes

The Indian newspaper feature articles, which in the absence of research studies provide a rich storehouse of information,

show that there is confusion in the attitudes of the people. Nirad C. Chaudhuri in a series of articles (64, 65, 66) all in the year 1965, surveys some remote corners of our political and social problems philosophically though ruefully. His observations are that there is an essential fatalism in the Hindu outlook on life, and a basic fault in the Hindu character. Hinduism is fast gaining ground and the Anglicized Hindus are being swallowed up in the tide. He is afraid that the modern Hindu way of life is bound to revert again to the life pursued thousands of years ago. There is a blind imitation of the West which is highly superficial. Hindu society at heart is still clinging to the occult and the supernatural, and is guided by astrology rather than science.

A plethora of writers in their letters to the *Statesman* have contradicted Chaudhuri in his observations on the Hindu way of life and the attitudes of the modern Hindu society. In the words of Kundal Mukherjee (288), "India has come a long way from the point when religion was used to control both the social and political activities of the people. Fat Pundits do not dictate the lives of the people. Today's Indian is sure of his rights. He is self-confident. He reads the newspapers. He criticises the government. Nobody's son takes over his father's place. Caste is on its way out. Widows can remarry."

It is true that some attitudes have undergone a change, but the change is uneven and has affected certain segments of the Indian society only. Attitudes are mostly conditioned by the socio-economic groups people belong to. Though drinking may safely be presumed to be a largely male phenomenon in India, it was noticed that it prevailed among the women in two distinct socio-economic groups. A sample survey of drinking habits in Delhi during 1964-1965, conducted by the Delhi School of social work, revealed that women in the higher socio-economic groups, such as the wives of high officials and well-to-do businessmen and career women, were found among the "upper class women drinkers". The other group of women drinkers, according to the survey, came from residents of the slums. The upper-class women came mostly from the younger

age group of 20-29. Among women in the slums drinking was more common among women of 40 years and above (522).

There is also an apparent change in the attitude of the educated young men towards marriage. A survey was conducted by the Government Arts College, Madras which revealed that 90 % of the educated bachelors interviewed were in favour of late marriage. 63 % wanted to marry educated, office-going women; 20% wanted educated though not working girls; and 17 % did not like to marry either working or educated girls (504). Change is also reflected in the freedom of choice of a partner, and hostility among young persons against arranged marriages. Pritish Nandi (297) suggests that "the two persons vitally concerned must be allowed opportunities to know and understand each other well before deciding to link their lives together. Dating in the American style can be helpful in letting the two persons know each other."

While the young persons strive for more freedom and some of them do succeed, the change is not being accepted too readily by the parents. Most parents frown on dating. Gupta (166) says, "Many girls reluctantly refuse dates and driven by frustration, marry any man their parents present before them." He recommends that children should be guided when occasionally they lose their way in the dark labyrinths of adolescence. S. S. Chaudhury (68) confirms this observation in the words: "It is painful to observe that most Indian parents have not yet relaxed their attitude so as to accept with equanimity the changes that have come about in our social life. Parents consider it unsafe to trust marriage to their children."

A similar sort of conflict in attitude is found among people towards family planning. L. Lalitha says (228), "Our efforts towards a better life are vitiated to a certain extent by people's faith in ancient customs. My experience as a field worker has been that social and religious beliefs are the main impediments to the success of the family planning programme. People believe that to prevent the will of God is a sin. Roman Catholics are opposed to family planning; so are Muslims making it difficult for a secular state to achieve its targets."

The attitude change is a slow, painstaking and tedious process, and cannot be brought about by legislation. This becomes clear in the light of the attitude of Indian women towards gold. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Ex-Finance Minister, Government of India, had to admit that the Gold Bond Scheme which was introduced by the Government to unearth hoarded gold was a complete flop (531). The love for gold that Indian women have and the status value it bestows on them, will not permit them to part with it (63) The Gold carat control had, therefore, to go (8).

This is further confirmed when we turn to the villages which are the heart of India. Two survey reports from two different places, one from a village in Gujrat and the other from a village in U. P., have much the same story to tell that there is little change in the social attitudes of the people. The 10-year survey of Panchhatardi village, nine miles from Bhanvad in the Jamnagar district (5), disclosed that in social customs, literacy, housing conditions and their attitude to family planning the villagers seem to have made little or no progress. Improved implements and fertilizers had not yet attracted the villagers. The "Panch" of the highest caste, the Rabaris, enjoyed its traditional hold on the people and had a deeper sanction than that of any law court. Belief in untouchability was still deeply rooted although it was showing some signs of decline. This holds good for child marriages, also. The villagers were unaware of family planning and totally indifferent to the economic pressures effected by a large family.

The other survey (4) conducted in 350 villages in U. P. in which 10,000 couples were interviewed shows that 71 per cent of the girls are married before reaching the age of 15 and sixty-nine per cent of the boys marry before they are 18. In other words, in either case, the legal marriage age is not observed. The survey also shows that there were no inter-caste marriages and that the remarriage of widows took place in less than 2 per cent of cases and these were mostly among Muslims and low-caste Hindus. Dowries are still bestowed in accordance with a family's economic circumstances, and 20 per

cent of village parents plunge into debt to give a dowry to their daughters. Purdah is still prevalent; 60 to 70 per cent of the families observed some kind of purdah. It is far more strictly observed among the Muslims.

problems of adjustments

Maladjustment is a term used for a variety of behaviour problems which men and women of all ages display in their interaction with self, with persons or society. Adjustment problems, therefore, are also called problems of interpersonal relations. In their simple elementary form problems of interpersonal relationships are problems of adjustment or indiscipline; in a virulent form they are called delinquency and in their extreme form mental affliction in which the total behaviour of the individual is affected.

A study conducted by S. B. Kakkar (211) in the adjustment problems of girl students of classes IX through XI, consisting of a random sample of 70 students, revealed that eight problems are common to all the students of the entire three classes. These problems are: cannot keep the mind on studies; have trouble with Mathematics; too much attachment to a school-mate; unable to adhere to a strict time schedule for study; not interested in certain subjects such as Economics and Social Studies; trouble with English; low achievement in scholastic work; and not knowing how to be popular. These problems instead of decreasing with the higher class increase as the students proceed to higher classes. The problems discovered through the study are in the seven areas: (i) academic, (ii) vocational, (iii) emotional, (iv) social relations, (v) home, (vi) physical development, and (vii) abstract. This study does not give any clue to the adjustment problems of the boys.

Adolescence (308) brings in its train emotional problems which are influenced by the type of home, school and the neighbourhood in which the children grow up. The cultural milieu amidst which the adolescent girls and boys develop

generally aggravates or keeps under control the emotional stress adolescence brings in. In the developmental period of life, while a firm handling of the children (309) and school activities (310) will be prophylactic measures against mal-adjustment, guidance to tide over this period of life and to set one's course of life will be essential. Most of the problems which adolescents suffer from are emotional and of inadequate perception of the concepts of discipline (312), and values (315).

R. K. Bubna (42) holds films responsible for the juvenile misbehaviour in our society. In his words, "only strict censoring and strong parental and academic control can save boys and girls from the corrupting influence of bad movies." Sourin Guha (165) thinks that "although good films have a benign influence on the young mind, it seems that bad films have more influence among young people today than good ones, and that films tend to become a fanatical craze." Film-career bait lures quite a few girls to a life of shame (535), which is more true about Bombay than of any other large city in India. In many cases teen-aged girls or women in their early twenties because of lack of information and guidance are lured by the promise of film careers, and thus hurl themselves into trouble.

A study published in the Journal of Educational Research and Extension by the Shri Ramakrishen Mission Vidyalaya in Coimbatore, a summary reproduced in Screen (372) reports the result of a study conducted of films' effects on students. The study covered 333 students studying in the 11th standard, selected from 12 schools in the town. The conclusions of this study are as follows:

1. More school girls (5.4 per cent) than boys (1.2 per cent) steal money to see films, but more boys (15.7 %) than girls (1.8 %) cut classes to see films.
2. Both boys and girls claimed that they liked educational shorts. Science fiction claimed the first place for both.
3. Films influenced the social values of about 62.5 % of the

girls. Commercial films influenced girls more than boys, but have not influenced their attitude to religion.

4. Both boys and girls like rural settings.
5. Reviews in magazines incite boys and girls to see a film.
6. Most adolescents go to films only once a month.
7. Only a few boys and fewer girls wish to take to acting.

The authors of the study feel that boys require more guidance than girls to make them withstand the bad influence of films. Hence the responsibility of teachers in boys' schools and parents is greater. They should discuss the subject with adolescents and help them to correct their wrong conclusions, if any. The study also points out the responsibility of the press in devoting more attention to the proper review of films, and of teachers in developing the rural setting interest of the adolescents into love for nature by screening films on natural scenery and correlating them with the lessons on Geography.

Among the school and college students the form that maladjustment assumes is indiscipline about which so much has been written (209,258). According to an official report (532) out of the 261 strikes in 1961—the highest since independence—207 were in colleges, 43 in schools, and 11 in universities. The number of strikes in professional and technical institutions, such as medical, engineering and agricultural, was roughly 58 (roughly 28 per cent). Analysing the figures state-wise, "the chronic trouble spots" seem to be in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Kerala, Orissa, U.P. and West Bengal.

The other forms indiscipline takes are truancy (542), eve-teasing (510) and violence (514). According to a study made by the Government of India (7), the total number of violent student agitations between 1963 and August 1966 was 570. The average number of agitations which was little more than a 100 per year is more than 200 per year since 1965.

Causes leading to indiscipline among the students are numerous and varied. The foremost is the increase in enrolment of students of doubtful abilities in schools, colleges and universities. Enrolment in universities alone doubled in eight years

and rose in 1964 by over ten per cent. But in that single year the pupil-teacher ratio also rose from 15.5 to 16.3. The enrolment has been increasing although "all experienced teachers know that at least half the undergraduate population should not be there at all" (501). Mr Shastri, the late Prime Minister of India (553) said that "the root cause of student indiscipline and unrest is the absence of any close link between the teacher and the taught. This is the price we are paying for the mass production of university students." Moreover, among the teachers there is a degeneration, a lack of a sense of loyalty to the profession or to the college. "The younger generation of teachers is, in fact, in constant search for stability, impatient to find a way of escape from positions which neither they nor society regard as desirable" (392).

Among causes of indiscipline, politics of a party nature is not discounted. The former Minister of Education, Mr. Chagla (527), warned the politicians and the government to establish a healthy convention by treating universities as "sacred ground". "The students should be left alone not only by political propagandists but also by politicians in the guise of moral pundits" (516). The *Statesman* (495) has even recommended stern steps by advising the college principals to root out not only the alleged "traitors" and "chauvinists" but also all those who are not genuine students from their colleges. This will eliminate all the trouble-makers. Action against politicians who are unscrupulous enough to use student organizations to further their own ends should be another step towards weeding out trouble.

The attitude of the students, however, is different towards the presence of political leanings among the students. Amit Ray and Ratan Banerji (339) defend the political orientation among the university students. They consider that it is the right of the students to stand up against inefficiency in the government departments and protest against the adulteration of food, black-marketing, corruption and spiralling prices which are taking the country to rack and ruin. While they decry the violent turn that student demonstrations take, it is

the result of the pent-up resentment bursting forth at times and taking an unexpected violent turn. They think, "if there were proper scope for ventilating our grievances and getting them redressed, then there would have been no need for demonstrations. We would also not have been exploited by anti-social elements, who take advantage of our demonstration to do their own dirty work."

Exploitation of university students is generally done by the Students' Unions which in the opinion of a College student should be banned (483). The main objective of the unions is offering opposition to the "Treasury Benches" in a college. Their approach is purely agitational (60). The functions of the unions are normally conducted by secretaries elected by union members. But paradoxically, the general members have practically no voice in the running of the unions. Personal whims and idiosyncrasies of the secretary and his select circle dominate union functions. In the opinion of Debakinandan Mondal (281) guidance can make the unions a valuable link of cordiality between the teacher and the taught, and by means of counselling grievances and frustrations can be handled.

Other causes leading to indiscipline include a cheap imitation of Western ways, and identification with fashionable ways which are believed to be a world-wide phenomenon today. In the words of Dipak Rudra (360), "Xenophilia is an acknowledged attribute here, though much of it is shallow posturing—The Indian 'outsider' identifies himself with the worldwide process and frequently welcomes an opportunity to convince the foreigner of his awareness. Exchange students from abroad, whenever available, are enrolled and lionized."

Nirad C. Chaudhuri (67) calls this superficial Westernism an "evanescent revolt of India's fickle youth." In his opinion these wispy Western ways ultimately get lost in a torrent of Hinduism. Youthful rebelliousness is not a very serious defect in India. It is a universal phenomenon and has no revolutionary significance. It is only a process of settling down in mature living, and needs proper guidance at both School and Collége levels.

There are several reasons which have brought about a sense of casualness among Indian youth. T. M. Nagarajan (294) attributes it to the leniency with which children are brought up in a democracy. The role of the rod is not being as much emphasized in disciplining the children these days as it was previously. The nemesis of indiscipline lies in family indiscipline. Parents are apathetic regarding their children's vocations and avocations and youth is left to its own devices. Boys grow up in an atmosphere of delusion until they are averse to the advice of elders. The students egotistically believe themselves a superior class or caste, as the Brahmins did in the past. This led Prof. J. B. S. Haldane (169) to suggest that in order to control the university students' behaviour, criminal law should be applied as it is applied to "ordinary" persons.

The reasons for indiscipline are, in fact, to be sought in the social changes which are being brought about by democracy and technology, and in the family control which is being undermined by these changes. In the absence of family control, the substitute agency being the school is also not gearing itself up for the task. These aspects are touched upon by several writers. Somnath Chatterjee (61) says that the age of the machine, automation and robot culture has turned youth into intellectual bankrupts. While the present intellectual crisis is partly economic in origin, the youth are placed in such a situation without being provided the necessary guidance on how to emerge from it. "Our system of education, perhaps even of upbringing, is somewhere radically at fault", says Utpala Mookerji, a girl student (291). "Our authorities and parents refuse to acknowledge the failure of their educational system to bring up vital and responsible young men and women. They can only blame us for lacking these qualities and in a spasmodic burst of energy, suggest unimaginative remedies like curtailing the already limited freedom of college-goers". Another writer, again a girl student, S. Bhan (21), blames the authoritarian attitude of the Indian parent towards his child, of the teacher towards his pupil, and that of the boss towards his subordinate, for being the root cause of the immaturity of Indian youth.

The influence of the political change on the younger generation in India has been taken notice of in the following words by Major-General Somdutt (401):

"Modern young men are not so inhibited and are perhaps over-boisterous as a result. But they are by and large willing to take greater risks, are prepared to answer for themselves, and are not easily satisfied with the mediocre. Surely these are useful qualities? Restraint and maturity are for the older generation to impart to the younger. It is the older lot who will sit in judgment on the younger. Let decisions be made on sound premises and not on whims and fancies. Let not umbrage be taken where no offence is meant, because the candid statements of youth are not necessarily indicative of rudeness. They reflect a welcome distaste for meaningless subservience."

A recent survey made by the Calcutta Health Clinic on the prevalence of habit-forming drugs and smoking among college students in Calcutta disclosed that the students are not as bad as elderly people hastily think (496). The sample contained 1,132 students and the period covered was the academic sessions beginning in July 1962 and May 1963. The report reveals that only 15.6% of the students are regular smokers, each student smoking less than five cigarettes a day; a little over 10% smoke occasionally, and the rest are non-smokers. Only 4.8% came to college with any previous experience of smoking during their school days. Not one student was found to have developed an addiction to stimulants or hypnotics. A little over 11 per cent of the students use pep pills and that too during examinations. On an average they used these drugs for only 11.08 days in a year. After the examination each and every student stopped taking these drugs. Use of barbiturates for insomnia was singularly absent among students. If a few of them had taken tranquilizers, they were prescribed by their physicians.

juvenile delinquency

The total number of juvenile offenders brought before courts for various offences in all the states in the year 1955

TABLE I. STATISTICS OF CHILDREN PUT UP FOR TRIAL, 1965

Nature of Offence	Below 6 years			6-11 years			11-14 years			14-17 years			Total	All persons
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Boys	Girls	Boys	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12			
Against person	9	—	56	7	397	45	1,265	79	1,727	131	1,858			
Against property	12	—	684	51	2,870	166	4,917	157	8,483	374	8,857			
Against Morality	27	23	63	8	101	19	195	117	386	167	553			
Under Rly. Act	13	1	359	8	1,411	25	3,060	22	4,843	56	4,899			
Under Prohibition Act	—	—	227	59	1,015	157	1,425	111	2,667	327	2,994			
Food Grain Offences	—	—	13	1	12	9	86	1	111	11	122			
Rioting	—	—	2	—	27	1	196	5	225	6	231			
Vagrancy	419	271	1,025	100	1,342	83	1,463	306	4,249	760	5,009			
Criminal Breach of Trust &	—	—	15	2	53	7	208	5	276	14	290			
Cheating Others	235	15	616	91	4,079	446	5,447	611	10,377	1,163	11,540			
Total	715	310	3,060	327	11,307	958	18,262	1,414	33,344	3,009	36,353			
Number with previous convictions included in the total above.	1	—	8	—	27	2	38	1	74	3	77			
Number tried in juvenile courts included in the total above	454	307	1,835	222	5,734	501	7,029	970	15,052	2,100	17,152			
Number tried in regular criminal courts empowered under the Children's Act.	23	37	516	49	2,138	210	2,134	212	4,811	474	5,255			

Source: Taken from table 1, p.6: Report on Delinquent Children and Juvenile Offenders in India, 1955. Govt. of India Publication, 1959.

was 36,353—33,344 boy offenders and 3,009 girl offenders (143). The detailed breakdown of the number as to the nature of offences committed and the age-groups to which they belong is given in the Table 1.

It will be observed from Table 1, that of the 36,353 delinquents 8,857 (24.4 per cent) were committed against property, 5,009 (13.8 per cent) against vagrancy, 4,899 (13.5 per cent) under the Railway Act, 2,994 (8.2 per cent) under the Prohibition Act, 1858, (5.1 per cent) against persons and 553 (1.5 per cent) against morality. The remaining 12,183 (33.5 per cent) offenders were charged with other offences, e.g. rioting, gambling, criminal breach of trust and cheating, food grain offences etc. As many as 77(74 boys and 3 girls) children had previous convictions to their credit. It will also be observed that out of a total number of 36,353 offenders 33,344, i.e. 91.7 per cent are boys and only 3,009, i.e. 8.3 per cent are girls. This may mean that on account of a more strict control exercised over girls by their families, the number of girl offenders is much smaller than that of boy offenders. This may also mean that Law is more severe on boy offenders than on girl offenders.

Juvenile delinquency, however, is on the increase. The number of offenders between 7 and 20 arrested in 1961 increased to 53,776. A comparison between the statistics for 1958 and 1961 shows an increase of 17,423, i.e. 48 per cent. The increase is more pronounced in the age-group 16-20 in which the number of delinquents increased from 15,000 in 1958 to 33,000 in 1961. According to Mr. Ray, Director, Central Bureau of Correctional Services (497), delinquency is not as pronounced in rural areas as in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta. This is more so because in villages, rural society tolerates nine out of ten delinquents whereas the margin of tolerance in urban areas is not so large. Moreover, serious crimes like murder, suicide, rape and kidnapping are more marked in delinquents in urban areas whereas in villages "the tendency to steal jack-fruit from the orchards is about all a delinquent is capable of".

Since we do not possess the statistics of the educational and socio-economic background of the child offenders it is impossible to judge the number that school-going boys and girls contribute to the total number of the offenders. The available statistics on prosperous Western countries such as the U.S.A., the U.K. and Sweden, however, show no correlation between the socio-economic status of the people and the number of crimes. Nor does there seem to be any relation in the occurrence and nature of crime and punishment (494).

mental afflictions

The extreme form of maladjustment is mental affliction in which there is a breakdown of the coping behaviour. The individual is no longer able to function effectively. There are hardly any statistics to show the percentage of the incidence of mental illness in India. According to rough estimates about seven million people appear to be suffering from mental disorders. The cases of neuroses and psychoses are, however, on the increase. The genesis of neurosis and psychosis is in the childhood conflicts which are sharpened by a cultural conflict, and the demands of the present-day competitive society (594). The clash between conservatism and modernism, between parental control and individual freedom, in the absence of guidance and counselling, also heightens the personal conflict which triggers off mental affliction. This has support in the records of the 600 odd cases referred on an average every year to the Nur Manzil Psychiatric Centre in Lucknow run under the control of the Methodist Church of Southern Asia (539).

problems of national integration

India unlike other Asian countries has remained free from a major racial conflict (245). The conflict is mostly emotional which has its roots in the historical, religious and linguistic forces which have shaped the Indian society. All these con-

flicts have an overlaying of caste tension, which is psychological and can be overcome if the communities are offered a super-ordinate goal which can be reached by a shared effort (391). This shared effort has been provided by industrialization (279).

It has been brought out in a study conducted under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Public Administration entitled "Caste in Changing India" that "pressure groups" on "Caste-linguistic lines have sprung up in increasing numbers in recent years, especially at the state, district and panchayat levels. Modern industrial forces, while breaking down the barriers of caste in regard to eating, drinking and other forms of contact, have tended to bring members of the same caste together to capture the benefits of economic and social progress. The study points out that caste communalism is replacing religious communalism (517).

The problems of the minority communities have been spotlighted by Inder Malhotra (250). Prejudice and indifference in the Hindu Society have combined to create for the Muslim minority many handicaps and disabilities, among which deprivation of the Muslim community of its due share in public employment is paramount. Other minorities also are not always free from the kind of disabilities complained of by the Muslims. The Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes fail to get even the jobs statutorily reserved for them. Emergence of a dominant caste even among the majority community is now becoming the most important feature of politics in several states. There have even been riots during which linguistic groups belonging to the same community have spilled each other's blood.

The process of assimilation and integration of alien racial and cultural elements into the Hindu society has almost ceased over these centuries and needs to be revived as has been pointed out by Maitraye Devi (244). The first requirement is the revival of contact between the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims, through joint clubs, mixed hostels and work centres, and joint celebrations of national festivals.

Pritend Kanungo (212), however, is of the opinion that the effort at bringing about national integration by means of clubs and youth festivals will meet with scant success, because these activities focus attention on diversities rather than on homogeneity. National integration involves social, religious, economic and linguistic considerations, all of which should be ironed out before the country can really become one. Left to the politicians, the problem will never be solved. It would be better if the job were entrusted to the country's intellectuals. They could study and experiment and move gradually and scientifically towards integration.

The task of national integration is a patient, painstaking and protracted process of assimilating the minorities into the mainstream of the national struggle to convert India's medieval society into a modern one. To enable the Muslim community to catch up with other communities, education will be the most effective means in which guidance is indicated. More and more Muslim children are now attending primary and secondary schools, they should be guided into productive and job-oriented courses.

problems of nutrition

The nutritional surveys conducted on more than 250,000 people of this country have shown anaemia and B-complex deficiency among women of child-bearing age, protein deficiency among infants and children below school-going age and general health failure and deficiency of Vitamins A and B-complex among all children. Calcutta Corporation's Education Department has reported continuous deterioration in the health of school children: 50% to 60% of them suffer from malnutrition and above 60% from general defects. It has also been pointed out that the intellectual standard of young people was showing signs of decline. The pre-school age children and infants are in fact the worst affected section of the Indian population. They commonly suffer from protein and vitamin deficiency, resulting in growth failure. As re-

ported by the FAO, India had the lowest caloric intake (1,800) per head, i.e. the poorest diet of all countries listed in its year-book (572).

Malnutrition is due to both paucity of food and restricted items of diet. P. C. Sen, the past Chief Minister of West Bengal, advocated a change in the food habits of the people to overcome the food crisis. It is pointed out by E. Sarkar (368), "There is hardly any country in the world which has such peculiar food habits as we have. Almost everywhere humans eat not only what grows on the land but also meat (of a very assorted variety) and fish, thus reducing the pressure on agricultural products."

The need for a comprehensive educational programme on the value of a balanced diet and change in food habits was adequately emphasized at a recent meeting of the National Nutrition Advisory Committee in Delhi. An aspect yet not adequately appreciated is the influence educated women can exert on food habits as well as the role of guidance in this sphere (547). But this is to be given in such a way as not to completely upset the individual's own ideas of food. After all, it cannot be denied that prejudices and traditions die hard. One who has been eating rice throughout his life will not take kindly to the suggestion of substituting a part or the whole of it with wheat or millet and vice versa. A thorough knowledge of the dietary habits, their merits and demerits, the nutritive value of local foodstuff and an understanding of the underlying psychology and the economic limitations of the class of people whose diet one wants to improve are, therefore, a few requirements which a nutrition teacher or reformer must possess (322).

problems of health

Joseph (207) alludes to the problems of physical education in India. The stumbling blocks in the planning of a programme of physical education are conservatism and too much faith in old traditions, and the prejudice people have against anything

new. Illiteracy, purdah, social disabilities, and inequalities, heavy domestic burden etc. militate against the programme reaching the women in the rural areas of the country. "In recent years there is a pronounced feeling that play, recreation, enjoyment and laughter are unbecoming and should be taboo. These are treated as luxuries of the idle rich. The poor must sweat and work in sorrow, and the pleasures of this life shall not be theirs. Any time that is not gainfully employed is wasted time. There is also a growing notion that he who takes care of his body, exercising it and developing it, is worthless. Society dubs him a goonda and a bully" (p. 32). With growing industrialization and education, these attitudes, however, are undergoing a change, and yet there is a lot to be done, by means of guidance.

problems of industrial relations and research

The expansion of the industrial base has accompanied the emergence of a managerial force which is the most notable feature of modern industry. The management of an enterprise is now a highly skilled job requiring basic training and experience, and it is accompanied with the development of many specialized functions. In modern industrial countries, technologists are the elite of modern industry and through the development of their professional ethics industry may well become more acceptable in its stewardship of a nation's wealth (378).

The management of enterprises in the public and private sectors is becoming increasingly complex and exacting. The day of the amateur manager is past and a high standard of professional competence is required in management. It is hinted by John Marsh, Director of the British Institute of Management (487), top managers in companies are required to have four qualities: a wholeness of outlook, a capacity for decision, a reputation for integrity and the capacity for self-reliance and strong initiative. This involves several problems. The chief among these are recruitment, training and retention of techno-

logists and managers, and the development of industrial ethics among them.

The two sectors follow different policies of recruitment and training. The private sector fills posts in the top bracket by direct recruitment from among relations, acquaintances and community members, while the public sector depends on recruitment through U.P.S.C. competitions. In both sectors back-ing and wire-pulling are important factors. Management in both sectors is in the hands of bureaucrats rather than in the hands of the technocrats.

The bureaucratic control is resented by workers in all fields. Most of the Government staff are unhappy because of bureaucratic methods. This is the conclusion reached by a pilot study conducted in a Government department (9). Over 50 per cent of the 130 officers in Class I, II and III, interviewed in the study complained that there was little or no scope for initiative in their work. As many as 32 per cent of the civil servants felt that the utilization of their training was poor. One-third of the persons interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs, and those belonging to Class III (clerks and assistants) were most dissatisfied.

The occupational dissatisfaction is shared by the persons in the educational field also. A study conducted by means of a questionnaire among the teachers of a middle school (314) re-vealed that 90 per cent of the teachers questioned were dissatis-fied with their present jobs. Teachers also resented the bureau-cratic control, which may take the form of strict supervision or a lack of contact between the principal and teachers.

Much of the efficiency of an industrial undertaking depends on the way the employees "feel" about their jobs. This was brought out in a study conducted in the attitudes of the em-ployees towards the management in the three units of a large chemical process undertaking by the Psychological Division of the Central Labour Institute, Bombay (544). The root of much of the dissatisfaction appeared to be in the organizational structure itself. The lack of authority at all management levels was resented by managers and workers alike. The study also

throws an interesting light on promotion policies. The common belief among the workers was that no one could expect promotion unless he had the personal backing of an officer and this was gained usually not by merit or seniority but by rendering personal service. The educated workers resented working under inadequately qualified supervisors. In every case there was a strong feeling about the problem of experience versus competence for the job as qualifications for promotion.

For the present conflicts seem quite on the surface, as is apparent from the man-days lost owing to management-labour disputes: 7.3 million in 1964 as against 3.26 million in 1963, and 6.1 million in 1962 (543).

The impact of factory life on the university trained graduates also gives rise to certain conflicts and problems. The youthful entrant enters a factory environment filled with noise, sweating groups of men working at feverish speed and a regimen of rigorous discipline, which lacks the paternalism the entrant is used to. Added to it is the pattern set by the foremen and supervisors, men who generally lack formal education but have plenty of "practical" experience (296). Another factor which militates against factory adjustment is the low salary of the supervisors and foremen. Practical experience, combined with low salary gives them a superior position but a low status over the university trained graduates. While the foremen and supervisors find factory conditions far superior to what they are accustomed to at home and are satisfied with what they have got; the opposite is the case with the university trained graduates (575).

Over and above, "the management tells the new entrant that he should better forget whatever he has learned at college, because there is a radical difference between theory and practice, and must mould himself to the existing pattern. New ideas are strictly taboo." (248). "Every factory seems to think that an engineering graduate is no good unless he follows its own particular style of doing things." Few senior factory officials realize the importance of theoretical knowledge. Faced with a problem, they resort to trial and error methods instead of allowing the

university-trained to tackle it. This results in the wastage of much valuable time (282).

The problem of industrial research and development until now has received scant attention from either public sector or private sector industries. Valuable work in this field, however, has been done by the Management Association and the institute of personnel management. As pointed out by a Survey report published by the Survey and Planning Unit of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, the percentage of expenditure on research and development is "unusually low" in industrial establishments in comparison to the total expenditure. The role research and development can play in production, both in terms of quantity and quality, has not been fully realized by industry. Reliance is put chiefly on foreign technical know-how, which reduces the possibilities of research and employment of research scholars. The research consciousness, however, is steadily increasing, which calls for guidance in schools to prepare boys for research careers.

problems of scheduled and backward classes

According to the Census of 1961, there are 64 million members of the scheduled castes and 30 million members of the scheduled tribes in India (158), who suffer from certain special social handicaps. Many of the measures taken by the Government of India including the Untouchability Act, 1955, special representation in the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabhas proportionate to their population in the states, for twenty years after the inauguration of the Constitution, and proportionate representation in the services have gone a long way in improving the social and economic conditions as well as the educational level of both the castes and the tribals. But the principal disability of these castes and tribes arises in the attitudes which the members of other castes hold towards them, and also in the special needs of these people. The social, communal and cultural matrix in which the tribals live, calls for understanding and not derision or a sense of amusement.

Dr. G. S. Ghurya (127) suggests, "The aborigines should form part of the civilized communities of our country in order to share with the advanced communities the privileges and duties on equal terms in the general social and political life of the country." To this may be added the words of Jawaharlal Nehru (284), "We must cease to think of ourselves as different from the so-called tribal people. This is a vicious idea. It is due to a superiority complex which has no basis in reality. I can say with complete honesty that some of the tribal people have reached a high degree of development. In fact, I have found that in some places they are highly educated and disciplined and lead a corporate communal life, which, I think, is far better than the caste-ridden society from which we suffer." This implies that the term "'backward" for the tribes is a misnomer.

The prejudices of the city dwellers, however, show up in their assessment of the Tribal people. Choudhuri (71) found them, "shiftless, lazy and very careless", their art and craft rudimentary and "their dances monotonous and uninspiring". On the contrary, A. Imam (186) found the Adivasis of Chotta Nagpur, having "a pioneering will and ability to go into the wilderness, tame it and win a livelihood.. Their methods of agriculture are essentially those of the soil conservationists. Adivasi dances may not be spectacular but they have an insidious rhythm intended for their own enjoyment." Imam compares the Adivasi dancing with Western ballroom dancing in as much as "it is intended for participant and not spectator-appeal. The instinct for cleanliness, and an eye for colour and for personal grooming and cleanliness are more developed among the Adivasis than in other Indians from a similar socio-economic level."

Among the backward classes can be included members from the various communities such as Muslims, Christians, Eurasians from Travancore, Gurkhas, Sikhs etc. These classes have been labelled backward on the basis of their socio-economic conditions rather than caste membership (135). Their problems, therefore, are different from those of the scheduled tribes. This has led the Government of India to re-schedule

gradually certain castes and tribes whose conditions have generally improved as a result of Government measures during the last few years.

All the reservations the scheduled castes and tribes enjoy today are to be discontinued after 1970, according to a constitutional provision. This is to be done on the basis of the report submitted to the Government by the Committee headed by the Law Secretary, Mr. B. N. Lokur. Forty-two communities have been included in the list in respect of which such action has been suggested. The Committee also recommended the relisting of the communities, which will not make any difference in the population of the Scheduled castes, but would increase the population of the Scheduled tribes by 2 million (552). The reservation for Scheduled castes for vacancies filled through open competition is 12 per cent and for other recruitments 16.2/3 per cent. For Scheduled tribes, 5 per cent of the vacancies are reserved in Government Services and Public Sector undertakings (536).

In that regard, although for constitutional purposes, all the tribes are listed together, the people of NEFA (284) are different from the Adivasis (224) inhabiting the Chotta Nagpur area. There are quite a few diversities which separate the Adivasis from the people of NEFA and there are some things which are common to both. The backward castes belong to the common Indian masses and, therefore, do not have any separate cultural identity.

Patnaik (554) ridicules those who advocate preservation of the so-called tribal tradition and culture. He has recommended the de-tribalization of the Tribals, by reducing the influence of the family on the education of the children. He found the family influence a drag on the education of the tribal children. He suggests that children should be "isolated from their families" and put in good residential schools on a massive scale. That would help "Detribe" them in one or two generations.

The problems connected with the Scheduled castes and tribes make the nature of guidance different from that meant for the city people. The education of the Scheduled tribes and back-

ward classes should be based on the understanding of their needs, cultures, modes of living and the environment in which they live and work.

problems of the physically handicapped

Intimately connected with the problems of the socially handicapped which consist of Scheduled tribes and backward classes, are the problems of the physically handicapped. Among the physically handicapped are also included the mentally backward. The problems of the physically handicapped whether born or rendered so by disease, sickness or accident are both educational and occupational. The problems of the female handicapped include an additional factor of the impossibility of a married life which makes the affliction more poignant.

There are 18 lakh cripples with rudimentary or absurdly misshapen limbs, and with or without mental retardedness or abnormality. Then there are the cases of acquired handicaps following strokes of polio, epilepsy or cerebral palsy and the like. They pose a still more difficult problem being mentally normal and alert (379). The problem of the mentally handicapped is different from the handicapped normal. The mentally handicapped need constant individual attention before the teachers are able to guide them on suitable courses, and later in obtaining jobs because the employers are reluctant to employ mentally deficient persons (521).

The problems of the physically handicapped can be handled and they can be guided. Dr. Mukherjee points out (379), the crippled need not be handicaps to themselves as well as to their parents. Some, according to Dr. Mukherjee, are curable by medical or surgical help. In a great many others the handicaps can be partially overcome with artificial limbs and orthopaedic aids. They can be rehabilitated. Some patients with anatomical deformities, either congenital or acquired, have quite sound minds. They take to education just like normal children and can even be sent up for university examinations.

While the handicapped with average intelligence can be

educated in separate or mixed sections of the same class in the same school, the mentally handicapped are looked after in separate schools. It is, nevertheless, debatable whether this should be done, and whether it will not restore the self-confidence of the mentally handicapped if they are taught in the same class with normal children. The current practice, however, in India is to establish separate institutions for the education, training and employment for the blind, the deaf and the mentally backward (158).

Allied with the education, training and employment of the physically handicapped is the problem of prevention of the handicap. Prophylactic measures in schools will prevent its occurrence, and in this matter the teachers handling normal children will need guidance. Parents of the normal children will also be guided by the schools in their efforts at prevention.

While attention is being paid to the problems of the physically handicapped, Ganesh Chandra Das (86) thinks that much remains to be done for the crippled, the deaf-mute, and the blind. Neglect of these is causing much waste of talent, and valuable lives. The first attack should be made on the attitude of the afflicted persons, who should be made to feel that a physical handicap does not denote a lack of talent. This can be achieved with proper medical care, occupational therapy and counselling. They will need a change in their self-perception. Instead of thinking themselves helpless, useless and unfortunate, they will consider themselves to be a national asset. Our country, undoubtedly, lacks the facilities needed for this sort of work.

The second area in which change will be required is the perception of the parents of their handicapped children and of the employers towards employees to be rehabilitated or candidates to be employed. Guidance in the case of the handicapped is to be supplemented with counselling of the suffering parents, and employing authorities. The parents have to fight their sense of guilt in creating such children. They will, therefore, need professional help in overcoming both grief and the pangs of

conscience. The employers are to be made aware of the prevention of accidents which may result in permanent injury to the worker and to overcome the prejudice against rehabilitating or employing the handicapped.

problems of rural society

More than 80 per cent of the Indian people live in villages. It is there that the lever of change should first be applied. While much is being talked about the shortfall in agricultural products, the relationship between agriculture and fertilizers, agriculture and mechanized farming, the link between all this and the peasant's education, motivation and skill is not being sufficiently emphasized (376). The rural youth who is lucky enough to learn his letters forgets them rapidly once he leaves school. But then there is not much enthusiasm among the educated young men and women from the cities to go and work as teachers in villages. The reasons for unwillingness are obvious: low salaries and ignorance about village people. Migration of the educated village young men to cities, further depletes the villages of leadership. The movement from villages towards cities and the retention of the educated rural youth are two of the several problems which call for attention.

Connected with these problems is the problem of village community involvement in its development. No project, however well conceived and planned it may be, can succeed unless there is the direct participation of the members of the community in its execution and implementation. To mobilize local enthusiasm for the project is the first step towards community participation; secondly to keep the various groups in the community together during the implementation of the project and thirdly, during its completion to solve problems of human relationships (533). Not all groups have identical purposes and reasons for participating in community development programmes. Some groups may form for selfish self-interest. This is quite true about some leaders who lead these groups. The problems connected with rural development are,

in fact, problems of group dynamics and leadership role as much as they are of technical know-how, fertilizers and mechanized implements.

The demand for education has much increased in villages, because it is being considered by every community to be a passport to better living and consequent advancement. It is considered to be a lever of social change and political emancipation, and economic progress. But what is not being realized is that the rudiments of education which are essential for the city children might not turn out to be useful for the village children. "Farmers, however, particularly the more progressive, complain bitterly that, in the absence of any kind of agricultural education at the primary or secondary level in the rural areas, they have no alternative but to send their sons into neighbouring towns to undergo a stereotyped form of "general" education, which though effective enough in broadening a child's mental horizons, is unrelated to anything connected with the land" (518). The content of education which is offered to village children, is unrelated to the realities of village life, and needs.

The problem is not, therefore, of educating village youth, but of framing meaningful curricula and syllabuses related to the realities of their lives and needs. The three requirements of rural education are not only the 3R's but training in agriculture, animal husbandry or home hygiene. A group of experts from 15 Commonwealth countries (including India), who met in Ceylon in December 1963 (481), has recommended that in India with a predominantly agricultural economy, biology should be given special attention, especially in the early stages which are expected to cover all those who will subsequently be engaged in agriculture. Both for agriculture and health, the two primary concerns of India's rural society, it is of the utmost importance to develop a lively interest in biology. But if the interest is to be spontaneous and the understanding useful, education in biology must relate as closely as possible to the facts of everyday experience in a given community. Greater emphasis on biology is also less dependent on expenditure on

laboratory equipment—an important consideration for schools in the villages.

problems of retirement

The problems of retirement are generally connected with the definition of old age status in the world of work and in other life's activities. This has become more important in view of the increasing number of persons surviving the age of retirement. According to the 1961 Census (158), 3 per cent of the population in India are in the category of "Elderly persons", i.e., the over 65 years age group and this number is going to increase as human longevity will improve owing to better medical facilities and new discoveries in pharmaceuticals and in the field of medical science. The economic and social implications of this will be that the number of dependent persons will keep on growing.

There are broadly three divisions in the superior service: (i) Non-ministerial servants (i.e. other than clerks) are required to retire at 55, (ii) Ministerial servants (clerks) who entered government service before April 1, 1938, are retained in service up to the age of 60 and (iii) Ministerial servants (clerks) who entered on or after 1 April 1938 compulsorily retire at the age of 55. This shows that different retirement age limits operate at different job levels (289). The age of retirement in the teaching profession has been fixed at 60 and over. In the private sector the age of retirement is rather arbitrary. In the case of company directors (548), ministers and workers in the political field no age limit has been imposed. Physical fitness, integrity and efficiency are now being considered as the criteria for prolonging the age of retirement of the senior officers in the Government of India. The Union Government has raised the age of retirement of its employees from 55 to 58 (479).

Already in 1962, it was feared that raising the retirement age would result in a fall in recruitment at the centre of about 12,000 persons a year, for the next three years. Considering that about 40% (or seven lakhs out of a total of about eighteen lakhs) of central government servants can serve up to the age

of 60 under older rules, the fall in recruitment will be much greater (480). It is pointed out by P. G. K. Nair (295) that the absorption of retired persons in commerce and industry will further deny opportunities of promotion to people in the junior cadre trained in that particular field. Unless opportunities for promotion are adequate, young people may feel frustrated by being kept waiting too long in junior posts.

Intimately connected with problems of retirement is the problem of the rehabilitation of retired persons, especially of ex-servicemen, who unlike persons in other professions, retire early. A jawan retires before he reaches his mid-30's, with a small pension of about Rs. 25 per month. It is, however, different in the case of army officers who generally retire at the age of 45. There are several government rehabilitation agencies such as the Directorate of Resettlement established in 1939 with four wings: the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Board, the Defence Services Liaison Organization, the Sainik Co-operative and a body in charge of co-ordination, employment, training, resettlement on land, housing and industry. Much of its work is financed by the Armed Forces' Reconstruction Fund and by Flag Day contributions. The best friend of a retired serviceman looking for employment is the nearest branch of a Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Board, with its 196 district offices (546).

No rehabilitation work is fruitful unless it is organized around retraining the retired workers for new occupations. The change in active life on retirement or change from one occupation which offers a certain style of life to another in which the style of life undergoes a change is seldom free from emotional problems. While the superannuated persons will need counselling in adjustment, the retired persons can be offered guidance in seeking new job openings and training facilities, in overcoming emotional reactions to new jobs, training programmes and new homes they have to settle in, to start their lives all over again. The rehabilitation programme for elderly persons will also include reduction of work-load, transfer to lighter work, part-time and sheltered employment. The pro-

gramme is also to consider special difficulties encountered by older women who enter employment either for the first time or after a long period of home-keeping.

problems of social welfare

A letter from an old-age sufferer in the *Statesman* (411) in which he describes the impact of industrialism and urbanism on family life in terms of "virtual break-up of the family system and loosening of family ties", brings home the need for social welfare. He says, "Most sons no longer consider it their duty to care for old parents, but deem them an unnecessary burden. Most daughters-in-law, whatever their outward 'show', have little or no attachment for their parents-in-law". The writer adds that it is necessary that some arrangement should be made by society and the state to take care of such persons till "God is pleased to end their miserable existence". To the list of the neglected old can also be added the uncared-for cripples, invalids and the deserted.

The social welfare work to a great extent in India was carried on by a number of voluntary organizations until in 1953 the Central Social Board was set up by the Government of India. But the Government lacks a formulated and clear social welfare policy. Rangachari states, "All we have now to go by are the general principles enshrined in the Constitution. The country calls itself a Welfare State without defining what the Government's own share and responsibility are in the promotion of social welfare" (363).

For the present there are 66 all-India social welfare organizations with state branches and affiliates; regional organizations run into thousands. There is a network of welfare centres, projects, committees, services, programmes all over India in which the Central Government, the State Governments (in varying degrees), local authorities, private donors, paid workers, unpaid volunteers, unofficial figureheads (like the wives of ministers), collectors, district magistrates, etc. are involved. The overall picture is one of unco-ordinated work,

competition, power and prestige pockets with individual attempts to gate-crash into political circles via social service.

Welfare activities have so far been concentrated mainly in cities. The Board is now making efforts to reach the villages in the interior. The work as already existing, is vitiated by the tension between the Government Welfare Agency and voluntary organizations and among themselves. Some agencies do not have enough money, while others have too much. In either case the quality of work has suffered. Common to both types of agencies is the paucity of trained personnel, which is bound to continue, for while the estimated requirement for such workers in the Third Plan was 1,500,000, provision for training has been made for only 25,000, the reason being lack of funds. Yet another problem is the sharpened sense of status between trained and paid work and unpaid devotion. This is understandable in terms of the changed connotation put on welfare work.

The old idea of social welfare as mere charity has given place to long-term plans for rehabilitation, seeking to make the handicapped self-supporting. This, however, does not rule out the need for amelioration and mitigation of hardship, which is one side of the coin. The other side is a large-scale social education programme which is to go hand in hand with welfare work. This calls for a worker with specialized training and skill, for whom professional standards and norms for social work are laid down. The problem of the sufferer is both economic and emotional. The dynamics of case-work and counselling are the same and indicates a need for a unified theory of case-work and counselling, sometimes emphasizing economic and sometimes emotional needs (10).

summary and conclusions

A study of the research literature, which is meagre, and of daily newspapers, reveals that the seven main areas of the needs in which persons require guidance and counselling are: (i) Health, (ii) Education, (iii) Occupation, (iv) Personal adjustment,

(v) Leisure-time activites, (vi) Information, and (vii) Skills. Common to all the problem areas is the conflict of attitudes which an individual is unable to handle unless offered mature guidance. Guidance is needed on all levels of individual development in both the social spheres—urban and rural—to prevent maladjustment.

As long as the people were guided by the values of a stratified society everyone knew his position in the society and the roles and duties attached to that position. On account of the advent of constitutional democracy and technology, the traditional concepts of relationships and social behaviour no longer hold good, and the new concepts are slow to emerge. In addition to it, the anonymity of city life and the stagnation in rural society militate against the individual's attempt at defining his own behaviour.

Indian society has been passing through a transition. The effects of technology both on the city dwellers and the country-side are apparent in material gains, but not in terms of human values. This imbalance has been causing emotional conflicts which no longer can be handled by methods which have been discovered by a pre-technological society. Guidance agencies such as family, church and the school which have so far been the directing and motivating forces in the life of the individual have themselves been powerfully influenced by the rise of democracy and technology. This calls for the reconstruction of the family, church and the school so that they again become the levers of change and direction. That, however, does not appear to be a possibility for several years to come. New agencies, therefore, should supplement and then supplant the traditional guiding agencies.

Professional guidance and counselling, although slow to rise, have already made long strides and being the product of the twentieth century can assist the individual in his emotional conflicts, and rescue social life from further disintegration.

Guidance

the present status of guidance in India

THE rise of systematic guidance in Asia and especially in India has been "of very recent duration, of hardly the last few years (577). About 30 years ago certain universities and social service agencies initiated work related to guidance. Some college professors, among whom may be mentioned Dr. C. H. Rice and S. Jalota, experimented with mental testing on their own initiative. On the whole until 1937 the "interest in intelligence testing, however, continued as a sporadic interest of isolated enthusiasts" (201, p. 97). The universities of Calcutta in 1938, and Patna in 1945 launched research work in the field of mental testing and practical vocational guidance. This was followed in 1947 by the opening in Bombay of a vocational guidance division to members of all communities by the trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Charities. The real impetus to guidance came from the extensive application of tests prepared by the Psychology Research Wing of the Defence Science Organization, in the selection programmes of the armed services.

During this period, individual schools also had become fully aware of the importance of psychological guidance to their students. The Hindi High School, Calcutta under the Principalship of Dr. (then Mr.) J. L. Pandit appointed the first qualified psychologist in 1949 to counsel students for their careers during their high school classes. But official recognition of guidance was the result of the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission on Secondary Education 1953 (134). As a result of these recommendations, a national programme of

guidance was set on foot. The Ministry of Education established the Central Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance in 1954 in Delhi, which was merged in the Central Institute of Education in 1960 (152). The Ministry also offered financial aid to state governments that wished to open or extend bureaux. Among the states, Uttar Pradesh and Bombay preceded other states in funding and establishing educational and vocational bureaux (191).

On parallel lines in 1956 the Union Ministry of Labour and Employment launched its programmes of vocational guidance and employment counselling for persons seeking employment including the School leavers. This was the aftermath of the Shiva Rao Committee Report on Employment and Training, 1954, set up by the Ministry of Labour and Employment in late 1952. The Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment set up a unit in Delhi to train employment officers in vocational guidance and employment counselling. Ninety counsellors for youth were trained up to 1962, of whom 67 were employed for guidance programmes in the Employment exchanges. The end of 1957 witnessed the growth and development of educational and vocational bureaux in seven out of the fourteen states and five centrally administered areas in addition to the central bureau in Delhi. By the end of 1963, the number of exchanges increased to 352 (excluding 20 universities Employment Bureaux) in the country (158).

A tripartite division of functions has been made to increase the utility of Employment Bureaux, set up by the Ministry of Labour and Employment, the Ministry of Education and the Universities. While the Employment Exchanges render services to job seekers including the school leavers, it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, through Extension services in Training Colleges, to provide guidance for school children and other students. Employment Exchanges, however, supplement the Ministry of Education's efforts by providing employment information to schools. Over and above the bureaux run by the two ministries, the Ministry of Education also subsidizes some of the 12 private agencies operated by religious and social

services or research organizations. Among the voluntary agencies mention may be made of the Vocational Guidance Society's Bureau in Calcutta (92), rendering assistance to sixty Anglo-Indian schools in West Bengal with some 27,000 children between them. Universities through their own employment bureaux render assistance to university students only.

The day-to-day administrative control over the Employment Exchanges was transferred to the State Governments with effect from November 1, 1956. The central government now limit their responsibilities to policy making, co-ordination of procedures and standards and to rendering assistance whenever needed. The state bureaux have undertaken the programme of introducing vocational guidance in the schools, of training teachers in the work of vocational guidance, and of preparing tests and other guidance techniques. Among the schemes implemented by the Employment bureaux are included (i) the collection of employment market information, (ii) occupational research and analysis, (iii) the publication of career pamphlets and handbooks on training facilities, and (iv) vocational guidance and employment counselling. The central bureau has undertaken the task of co-ordinating the work of the state bureaux, conducting the pilot projects in educational and vocational guidance so as to standardize methods and procedures, and of preparing informational material, and to construct tests for use throughout the country (196).

The techniques of guidance employed in India are still the prototype of the early American compartmentalized techniques of measurement and counselling, because they are based on the principles "transplanted largely from the United States" (88, p. 340). This is confirmed by the procedures and practices recommended in the pamphlets printed by the various guidance bureaux (44, 45, 46, 327, 328, 329, 576), the Ministry of Education and the National Council of Educational Research and Training (139, 140, 155) and the literature published by individual writers on the subject of guidance (15, 223, 573).

The assumptions underlying the Indian techniques of guidance which have been accepted unquestioningly are two:

First, individuals differ in their traits and characteristics and secondly, educational courses and occupations also differ in their requirements, and hence different types of individuals are suited for different types of courses and occupations. The job of the guidance counsellor, therefore, is to develop and to use the tools of differential diagnosis to match students with courses and persons with occupations. Once this is done adjustment will follow. The goals of guidance in India are, therefore, diffused and generally centre round the concept of adjustment or mental hygiene (72, 269). Emphasis is laid mostly on adjustment against which the American counsellors have already started warning their countrymen (369).

Much of the occupational information material has also been copied from American materials with adaptations to suit the Indian conditions. This has been the result of the assistance received by the Ministry of Labour and Employment from American agencies assisting the Government of India, such as the Technical Cooperation Mission. The other source of assistance is the International Labour Organization which arranged for an expert from Sweden to train the workers who drew up the new National Classification of Occupations (144). This book follows closely the occupational code form approved by the Ninth International Conference of Labour Statisticians. Similarly, the tests which are being developed in various bureaux, psychological laboratories, and statistical organizations are often copies or translations of tests from Western countries.

In spite of a network of Guidance and Counselling agencies not much headway has been gained in the field of guidance. Programmes of guidance and counselling have been introduced only in a minority of schools. Until 1962 hardly three or four per cent of the secondary schools had trained counsellors, most of them ill-equipped for the job. Many of the school administrators have a vague conception of guidance, especially of counselling (108).

The slow progress of the programmes in schools may be accounted for by the size of the task but more so for the reasons given below:

1. Confusion in the use of the term "Guidance", and lack of clarity of goals of guidance.
2. Scarcity of trained personnel.
3. Paucity of suitable opportunities for the school leavers.
4. Lack of an indigenous philosophy of guidance and a theoretical framework in which guidance practices and procedures can be developed.
5. Too much leaning on the borrowed concepts of guidance from the West to the exclusion of reality factors present in our own country.
6. Too much emphasis on the replication of borrowed instruments of testing which are suitable for the selection in personnel practices.
7. Most of the persons engaged in research both on the university level and Government level have a psychological orientation. This has engendered too much psychological bias in the practices and procedures of guidance, which in our country leans heavily on the theory of individual differences. Hence the diagnosis of individual differences has become the chief concern.

In order to effect a break-through in guidance, persons with guidance and counselling orientation should be employed for research.

guidance versus education

The human juvenile in his developmental cycle to adulthood is to be guided in the home, in the school, in the job and during leisure-time activities. The individual is increasingly becoming dependent on expert advice, which until recently was being provided by more experienced members of the family and the community. Since the conventional sources of advice and direction are drying up, more and more responsibility is being placed on the educational institutions in guiding the young. This has come gradually to have two implications: First, guidance has become an educational effort and secondly, the

term "guidance" is being labelled by the kinds of problems for which it is offered. This has led to blurring the lines between guidance and education and to confusing the specificity called "guidance."

Guidance and education in spite of the several common elements are two different concepts. Education is to deal with the planning of the total environment in which a child is helped to develop his potentialities and by playing various kinds of roles, is assisted to develop a self-concept, a picture of the kind of person he or she is and the kind of person he or she will want to become. Guidance is a structured, semi-structured or an unstructured situation present in the counsellor's chamber where the individual is faced with capsule reality in the form of test results and the data collected through cumulative record cards etc., for assisting the individual to test his or her self-concept developed through education to make a self-discovery, or whether the two self-concepts concur. The common element in guidance and education, however, is learning. In either situation the individual learns about himself and about reality. But that does not make the two concepts identical. Education involves learning with emphasis on content, while guidance involves learning with emphasis on the use of information in determining a behaviour change (583).

The other element which distinguishes the specificity called guidance from education, is the skill and tools with which a counsellor and a teacher must work. Although the use of guidance tools is increasingly being made in education, it does not for that reason make guidance synonymous with education. In guidance the counsellor is to make use of tests of measurement, academic records, personality inventories, etc., in assisting the individual either to change his behaviour or to take a decision. This has led Jones (206, p. 79) to say, "All guidance is education but some aspects of education are not guidance; their objects are the same—the development of the individual—but the methods used in education are by no means the same as those used in guidance. Testing and test results, records, fundamental habits, and skills are all necessary

for wise choice, but it is only when the teacher, counsellor, or other person uses these in a conscious effort to help the individual in his choices that guidance is present."

The third dimension in which these two specificities are different from each other is the attitude of the counsellor and that of the teacher. Both aim at helping the individual in his personal development; both assist the learning or the educative process; both have a common objective of preparing the boy or girl for life and work satisfaction; but while the teacher concerns himself mainly with the process, the counsellor is professionally trained to manipulate the process of the behaviour product as to control, guide and change it. The difference, therefore, between guidance and education does not lie in the areas in which they are similar but in the areas in which they are different. Education and guidance differ in their ultimate goals, which they set out to achieve. The goals of guidance are psychological measurement of human behaviour and the control of stimuli in order to change the stimulus response of the client, in his effort to take a decision.

The fourth and the most significant difference between education and guidance, is in the difference between the relationship of the teacher and student and that of the counsellor and client. The teacher-student relationship cannot be called guidance or counselling. The student-teacher relationship can be educative or may facilitate the educative process, but it is not therapeutic, nor can it be handled by the teacher in the identical way a counsellor does. The teacher does not possess the skill or attitude to use the relationship as a tool of therapy in a teaching lesson as does the counsellor in a guidance situation.

guidance versus student personnel services

Guidance is also to be defined in terms of the problem areas in which it renders service to the individual. Several areas of problems have been identified and categorized in Chapter VIII. Some of these principal problem areas are: (i) Health,

(ii) Education, (iii) Occupation, (iv) Personal adjustment, (v) Leisure-time activities, (vi) Information and (vii) Skills. Since every problem area needs a specialized skill and professional training on the part of the counsellor to assist the individual, guidance has come to be considered as a constellation of services rendered by a team of specialists. Sometimes a more precise term than "guidance" is used for defining the group of services, which are generally associated with guidance. The term used to cover all those services which an educational institution renders to the students is called "pupil or student personnel", which is frequently used either interchangeably with guidance or to indicate different concepts of duties and functions, which include guidance and counselling as separate specificities. The confusion, however, in the use of these two terms is so great that one of the writers (374) has recommended that the term "guidance" be abandoned. This will bestow on the counsellor an independent status of a specialist being one of the student personnel specialists.

There are also writers (206, 593) who believe that since guidance shares with education the task of assisting the individual in the development of potentialities, it can be understood only in terms of pupil personnel services. Hoyt (179, p. 692) has defined guidance as that "part of pupil personnel services and, therefore, of elementary and secondary education aimed at maximal development of individual potentialities through devoting school-wide assistance to youth in the personal problems, choices and decisions each must face as he moves towards maturity". This definition is broadbased and has the advantage of making the counsellor responsible for mobilizing the entire school resources, teachers, health officers etc. in assisting all the students in developing their potentialities. In this programme the class teacher will be his most potent ally. The counsellor will have a professional commitment to secondary and/or elementary education and in this respect he will differ from all other kinds of counsellors. In other words, the school counsellor will qualify as a teacher, but with specific functions to perform.

guidance defined

Ultimately it all depends on individual needs and social resources, how guidance is defined. The nature of service called "guidance" will be determined by that aspect of it which is emphasized to suit the needs of the client, and the matrix within which the service is rendered. In certain situations the counsellor will be rendering guidance in a school, which is one end of the line while at the other end he will be rendering the services of a specialist. Between these two extremes there will be many shades of professional services that the counsellor will be rendering. Guidance, therefore, is to receive its definition and articulation in terms of the nature of service and the matrix within which it is rendered. This will further be influenced by the philosophy the counsellor will bring to bear on the practice of guidance. For the present, several strategies of guidance practices are competing for attention (257).

In a guidance programme three dimensions are of importance: The developmental needs of the individual, the critical problems which an individual faces in his life cycle, and the needs of the society an individual is meant to serve. These three aspects indicate the type of guidance strategy which will ultimately come to stay. The first type of guidance which includes the developmental needs of the individual and also assistance at critical stages of life has come to be called class-room-centred guidance, and the other which is employed to fulfil the manpower needs of the society is called manpower-oriented guidance. The first form of guidance can be offered at the elementary and secondary school stage, and the second form of guidance is offered at the end of the school or college career or if the individual is unable to complete his school or college career.

The third form of guidance which will combine in a single frame of reference both class-room and social-needs-based guidance has come to be called developmental guidance. Super (423, p. 199) has defined guidance in its developmental aspects in terms of a "process of helping a person to develop

and accept an integrated and adequate picture of himself and of his role in the world of work, to test his concept against reality, and to convert it into a reality with satisfaction to himself and benefit to society."

class-room-oriented guidance

Class-room-oriented guidance has many supporters (206, 407, 593) and is widely accepted as the only suitable form of guidance in India (22, 72, 270). This strategy is based upon the assumption that guidance is part of the educative process in the school and can be imparted by the class-room teacher as part of his work. The individual student through school activities and class-room activities comes to have a self-definition and self-direction. This form of guidance is characterized by a strong belief in the ability of the individual pupil to use educational experiences in a meaningful way, to relate these to his individual needs, and to integrate them into a socially accepted outlook and behaviour pattern.

This programme pivots around the teacher and class-room activities, and also around the idea that class-room activities can be tailored to suit the needs of individual students, and if necessary individualized attention can also be made available by the teacher. The stress, however, will remain upon the requirement of academic knowledge and the maintenance of scholastic progress. The individual student is expected to construct his own self-concepts and work towards his own educational and vocational goals. In the areas in which the individual student experiences special difficulty or disability, the help of a specialist will be forthcoming. The specialist will also provide the teacher information about the individual's characteristics, but the principal source of guidance will be the class-teacher. There will be some individual students who in spite of the class-room-centred guidance will not be able to take decisions of educational or vocational significance when the time comes for deciding upon a high school curriculum or upon a choice of college. For these few individuals who are unable to make

firm commitment to these goals, the guidance counsellor may be counted upon for specialized assistance. The belief that only a few students will need specialized help has as its support, the observation that most of the pupils grow up normally and it is only a small minority who need assistance of a specialized kind, in solving their educational and adjustment problems.

In a programme of class-room-based guidance, the counsellor thus becomes a resource consultant, a co-ordinator of activities in guidance, and a referral agent. The onus of growth, development and decision remains on the individual student. He is helped by the class-room teacher with encouragement and information, and by the counsellor in assessment if required. The psychological climate pervading class-room practice is believed to bring about certain desirable guidance outcomes, which are further reinforced by the individual's "mental level", and general educational achievement, and indeed, his socio-economic status and circumstances as well. All these combined will be important determining factors at points of decision about career and career training. This thinking, however, is counter to the idea that each individual in the formation of self-identity be helped by means of deliberate and systematic procedures of guidance.

Criticism against class-room-based guidance being incidental and episodical is vocal and loud (257, 597). This kind of guidance lacks an emphasis on the desired outcomes of guidance and the proper utilization of manpower, which, although a social necessity, is, nevertheless, important. While the class-room teacher will be in a position to impart information and the counsellor assistance to problem cases, the number of students thus attended to will be very small, and hence, many needs for personal guidance, educational orientation, self-definition, and vocational development may go by the board. The laissez-faire attitude towards guidance will hardly be conducive to influencing the decisions of the students to fulfil the society's needs of manpower utilization.

Yet it is to be realized that guidance cannot be divorced from education and hence from the class-room, if any cumulative

and day-to-day guidance is what is demanded. This kind of guidance will have to be conducted by class-room teachers in most schools. This will give the individual the maximum personal freedom to pursue his own goals, by means at the disposal of the individual, to an utter disregard for the social needs. This will also mean much wasted individual potentiality, which class-room-centred-guidance has no means to recognize or develop.

social-needs-based guidance

On the other extreme of the guidance strategy is the type of guidance which is employed to fulfil the manpower needs of the society (269, 420). It determines to what use the human resources of the country should be put to; allocation of manpower is made to fulfil certain targets set by the society or the state. The determination of social needs, and the allocation of manpower, thus become the task of specialists. It will be the task of the counselling specialists to make an objective analysis of the individual informational and test data, and to make recommendations at critical points of decision whether placement into one group or another is to be effected. This selective-distributive strategy is characterized by dependence on the placement decision of the specialist conveyed to administrators, students, and parents for implementation by them. This is the type of guidance that has been most harshly criticized by the client-centred counsellors (353).

In an industrializing nation dependence on social-needs-oriented guidance cannot be ruled out. This guidance approach will be appropriate for the utilization of human resources for institutional ends, such as: placement of personnel in industry and in defence forces; placement of students in appropriate institutions of higher learning according to the demands of these institutions; and also vocational guidance of a directive nature in schools to distribute students to polytechnic schools and training programmes. Since this type of guidance will need the services of a cadre of highly trained

counselling specialists who are still in short supply, they can be utilized in an economical way by making available their advice at those critical check-points where it may be most profitably applied.

The assumption underlying objective guidance is the inability of the individual to take realistic decisions in face of the growing complexity and the changing nature of modern society. It also has the assumption that individuals are unable to take decisions objectively on account of the emotional and personality factors which are not within their conscious control. There are also individuals who cannot exercise control on their choices and decisions to a significant degree or are unable to act on account of the inhibiting personality traits which are the product of hereditary factors, glandular reactions and upbringing. For those reasons self-evaluations made by some individuals are also highly inaccurate. Such is the belief still held sacred by the non-self group of psychologists.

Yet another assumption that underlies the thinking of objective counsellors, is that the individual is guided in his decisions by his own needs and thinking and, therefore, is unable to integrate the needs of society in his self-evaluative apparatus of guidance. Unless these individuals are made aware of societal requirements, and are compelled to bow to the demands of the nation, they will indulge in self-seeking behaviour. Their personal goals cannot necessarily be social goals. Hence it becomes imperative to appraise individuals scientifically and sociologically, to interpret such results to them as recommendations, and where essential for social objectives, to select and direct individuals into socially desirable channels. Thus the guidance counsellor is to be cast in the role of a specialist, who is aware of the needs of society, is acquainted with the use of the selective-distributive tools and has the authority to commit manpower to bring about a social reconstruction.

This strategy falls short of several desirable factors, namely the individual's right of decision and freedom of choice, individual motivation and value system, besides the family status

and influence which are known to determine individual choices and decisions. This guidance paradigm also excludes the factor of maturation. This oversight may later destroy the "validity" of any placement made on a limited recommendatory basis. Against these dangers there are a few advantages which may be recognized in a programme of social-needs-based guidance. It lays stress on the need for objective data; on the usefulness of socio-comparative data; on the importance of social consequences; on the need for individual assistance at critical decision-points; and for professional and specialized services at such points.

developmental guidance

The recent thinking on subjective-objective ends of guidance strategies employed for the achievement of these ends, has led to a re-evaluation of guidance practices and procedures. The contribution of the various fields of human endeavour and thought has led to the widening of the horizons of the guidance movement. The humanistic foundations of society demand the cultivation of a broad outlook on life. A career, therefore, is not to be interpreted in the narrow terms of an occupation or a job but in terms of a total map of life. To this is added the dimension inherited from educational traditions of society of the individual's ability to handle freedom intelligently. The third dimension that guidance has received is from the political and economic realities of national life. It is that human resources are the wealth of a country and should, therefore, be scientifically cultivated and utilized; individuals are able to learn new behaviours, and can be assisted in solving their own problems, which brings into focus the element of control and direction, a contribution of learning theories. Yet another dimension is offered by personality psychologists and sociologists, who point out the function of concepts and precepts formed under the influence of a cultural milieu. Individuals do not always react to reality as it is, but as it is perceived by them and interpreted in terms of motivation and value

system developed partly by cultural contact and partly by maturity.

The integration of the contributions of different philosophies, and researches in the fields of Learning, Personality, Sociology and Anthropology into the framework of guidance has rendered "guidance" a multi-dimensional concept. Increasingly the guidance counsellors (229, 313, 421, 563) are now emphasizing the developmental function of guidance. This means that individuals can be guided in their development according to their individual traits, characteristics, and socio-economic status towards personal maturation including self-adjustment and occupational choice, to fulfil personal needs and societal objectives.*

The development of a strategy of guidance which should retain the significant aspects of class-room-based guidance and of social-needs-based guidance into a framework of a developmental model in a school situation is still a question mark. It will be a long time before any democratic country will be ready to support a programme of a truly effective kind of developmental guidance. The means of implementing a developmental programme of guidance, in schools, however, are being suggested (83, 257, 313, 423, 565).

The developmental guidance strategy will recognize the core area, common both to education and guidance, and will assist the student in the areas in which educational effort cannot meet his demands. This will be clear from the following paradigm:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Education} &= \text{Instruction} + \text{Information} + \text{Measurement} \\ \text{Guidance} &= \text{Counselling} + \text{Information} + \text{Measurement}\end{aligned}$$

The class-room teacher will meet the educational demands of the students in the context of their inherited characteristics and socio-economic status, share information regarding occupational opportunities, collect information on individual students, assist them by reviewing the information with them and at the same time engage in educational measurement.

The class-room teacher through cumulative, articulated and co-ordinated procedures will seek more pupil involvement in their own guidance by building a growing self-understanding and direction on the part of each student. In the case of students who experience special disabilities, the class-teacher will act as a referral agent. By his efforts and organized educational activities, the class-teacher will help each student develop a self-definition, as to the kind of person he is and will want to be.

There is yet another task which a class-teacher will perform. He will offer opportunities in decision-making processes so that a student can develop the courage to take decisions and through them to commit himself to an ultimate goal in life. He will also make students aware of the societal needs, so that the students learn to form purposes within the framework of social realities—a compromise between personal needs and social objectives.

The counsellor will act as a specialist, whose job it will be to communicate to the teachers the human development stance, the results of research in the field of learning and personality so that the class-teachers may integrate these insights in the core guidance work. Another task of the counsellor will be to provide counselling and make assessment at critical check-points when decisions of occupational nature are to be taken by the individual. The guidance specialists will become the pivot for the co-ordination of activities among a limited number of pupils co-operating very closely with teachers, and parents in the same block of students. When the students have reached the decision points, the counsellor will act in an advisory role capitalizing on the self-understanding formed through the cumulative guidance process which has already been evaluated at the check-points along the educational positions. This effort may be further reinforced by community efforts by means of career conferences to be addressed by the leaders in industry, government and education.

goals of guidance

While the development of a suitable strategy of developmental guidance is still a matter of empirical research, the goals of such a kind of guidance have received a fair consensus among the counsellors. The goals are often labelled as developmental tasks (174, 598), vocational developmental tasks (421, 564) and sometimes psychological growth (101). All these concepts are related in as much as they emphasize the developmental aspect of guidance with or without counselling for overcoming the crises which sometime beset the human development towards achieving a purpose. Tiedeman (565) has, therefore, suggested the development of a "purposeful action" as the goal for guidance.

The developmental histories of individuals show certain discontinuities in the process of self-actualization or critical decision points, where the choice becomes an important matter. The successful overcoming of the discontinuity of taking a decision leading to the solution of the problem, may result in a permanent commitment to a purpose, and a failure in it may result in the change of purpose or personal unhappiness. New learning takes place when a situation is mastered. Such discontinuities and decision points occur successively in the life of the individual, during his school and college career in terms of the choice of courses, in the choice of a career, choice of an occupation, choice of a mate, arrival of the first child, upbringing of children, change of occupation as well as change in age (middle age and retirement). All these tasks can be handled independently by those who have developed the habit of purposeful action. The goal of all guidance is to assist the individual in school, college and even out of educational institutions in mastering the process of purposeful action.

The concept of "purposeful action" may be described in terms of a hierarchy of goals, (a) Long-range, (b) Intermediate range and (c) Short-term leading to the ultimate goal of Self-realization (353), Becoming (3) or Self-actualization (131). The concept of purposing through action may be achieved through

school activities, Community efforts or through exploring of vocational choices, specifying a vocational choice and ultimately implementing a vocational preference (128).

The human child through his four-phased cycle of development: childhood, youth, middle age and old age, is to be prepared for responsibilities which are mostly related to occupational life and its relinquishment. In the first two stages of the life cycle, which are the concern of educational institutions, the individual is prepared through habit formation and education for the occupation being a long-range goal; the last two stages are concerned with the disentanglement and relinquishment of occupational responsibilities, being the ultimate goals. These stages are in a way parallel to the four ashramas, Brahmacarya, Garhastha, Vanaparastha and Sannyasa, ordained by the ancient Hindus. While Brahmacarya and Garhastha ashramas are the phases of childhood and youth, Vanaparastha and Sannyasa are the last two phases of middle age and old age, of the developmental cycle.

The educational system is primarily concerned with the first two stages of development which include pre-primary, primary and higher secondary, leading to college education and thus with the preparation for and induction into occupational choice. The three types of guidance consequently have come to have a definite significance in the context of education. These three types of guidance, which have a unitary aim of assisting the individual as a member of a social system to achieve goals and tasks set in mutuality, are Child guidance, Educational guidance and Vocational guidance.

child guidance

The first phase of human life in which foundations for adult behaviour are laid is childhood. During this period the human young learns many of those habits and attitudes which later result in proper adjustment or maladjustment in work and interpersonal relations. On proper socialization depend the perceptions of the individual of himself, of others and of the

world around—those perceptions to which an individual generally reacts in adult life.

The importance of childhood experiences and the early phase of human life in which most of the habits and attitudes towards others and work are formed gave rise to mental hygiene. "Out of the interest in mental hygiene, which had remained uninfluenced by the vocational guidance movement, grew up during the twenties the effort called Child guidance. The Child guidance movement was concerned mainly with the habit formation in infants and young children, chiefly of pre-school age" (37, p. 263).

The Child guidance movement has still not gained its hold on the schools and is largely confined to clinics outside the schools. The underlying principles of mental hygiene, however, have powerfully influenced the thinking of the teachers in the infant and pre-primary schools in our country. The importance of the pre-primary school age and the need for guidance in this phase of human life has induced the government of India to supplement the private effort with grants-in-aid, and to start a few schools as models. While the Child guidance clinics are generally attached to hospitals, the model schools called Balwadis which combine some programme of pre-school education with those of Child welfare, are run under the aegis of the Central Social Welfare Board (152).

educational guidance

The continuation of the education from pre-primary to primary, through college, besides calling for guidance in personal problems, brings in the problem of the choice of courses. Guidance, therefore, in problems which a student is to face during his educational career including the choice of studies has come to be called "Educational Guidance".

Educational guidance as has been made out is not a new thing in the history of education. A number of books on how to study or on how to develop study habits were already available before educational guidance in the present form came into

being. This was followed by an application of measurement of class-room activities and the recognition of individual differences to classify students according to ability.

The term "Educational guidance" was first of all used by Truman L. Kelly at the Teachers' College, Columbia, U.S.A. in 1914, six years after the concept of Vocational guidance was developed. The term "Educational guidance" was used as the title of the doctoral thesis, a statistical investigation of aptitudes for various school studies by Kelly. The term was used to describe the assistance given in choice of studies and in other school adjustment.

A study of the literature on Educational guidance amply demonstrates that all the tools used for educational guidance were primarily developed for Vocational guidance as was understood in its early phase. Since the educators were quick to see that the tools used in Vocational guidance—exploratory courses, information classes, counselling, etc. were useful, they redesigned them for use in helping to achieve success in the school and college career. This has resulted in parallel developments in both the fields of Educational guidance and Vocational guidance (37).

vocational guidance

The need for Vocational guidance in a primitive society or in a stratified society with a unilateral educational system, does not arise. Occupations are fixed according to age and sex and are generally inherited from the parents. It is only when there are four conditions or agencies, namely, the division of labour, the growth of technology, the extension of Vocational education and the spread of the modern form of democracy which gives the individual the freedom to choose his own vocation and the right to work, that Vocational guidance can result.

Although all the four factors which gave rise to Vocational guidance were present in our country for a long time, the growth of Vocational guidance was hindered on account of the stratification of occupations by inheritance and caste. The

advent of modern democracy and the diversification of education have brought about a relative reorientation of occupational and caste attitudes, which have made an impact on the other three factors and have heralded the advent of Vocational guidance in our country.

Vocational guidance as an organized activity, however, is of comparatively recent origin all over the world. The Vocational guidance movement dates as far back as 1908, when Frank Parsons for the first time coined this term and used it in his book entitled *Choosing a Vocation* (317). In *Choosing a Vocation*, Parsons for the first time offered a three-pronged formula: (a) a clear understanding of yourself; (b) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions for success in different lines of work; and (c) true reasoning on the relation of the first two groups of facts.

“Vocational guidance is the process of assisting the individual to choose an occupation, prepare for it, enter upon and progress in it. It is concerned primarily with helping individuals make decisions and choices involved in planning a future and building career-decisions and choices necessary in effecting satisfactory Vocational adjustment” (299, p. 772). Myers (293, p. 4) says, “Vocational guidance is helping Johnny to see through himself and to see him through.” In the words of Super (420, p. 2), “Vocational guidance is a dual process of helping the individual to understand and accept himself, and of helping him to understand and adjust to society; it is both psychological and socio-economic.”

The General Conference of the International Labour Organization in its vocational guidance recommendation, 1949 (192, p. 2), described Vocational Guidance as “assistance given to an individual in solving problems related to occupational choice and progress with due regard for the individual’s characteristics and their relation to occupational opportunity.” Within this framework are included not only preparation for, entry and progress in an occupation but also personal development including as it does adjustment and satisfaction from work with a due regard for individual traits and the most effective

use of national manpower, because the existence of a democracy depends on the quality of its human resources and the proper use of them.

Viewed thus, when the emphasis is laid on the occupation and the suitability of the person for the same, it is termed "Vocational selection"; when the emphasis is on the educational needs of the individual, it is termed "Educational guidance"; when the emphasis is on the individual's attributes and his occupational needs, it is termed "Vocational guidance", but when the emphasis is on the individual in assisting him to develop occupational choices and preferences by means of systematic guidance and counselling, it is called "Career development", which we will discuss in the following chapter.

The task of career development, however, hinges on the prediction of vocational choice and adjustment. Only when prediction of occupational choice is made possible, the counsellor can assist the individual, with certainty, in the choice of his school career that shall ultimately lead him to his most cherished vocational goal, and can also take early steps to correct future maladjustment.

summary and conclusions

Guidance has been systematized, institutionalized and professionalized only recently. The beginnings were made in 1908 in the U.S.A. and guidance has now become a world-wide movement. It has been slow to appear on the Indian scene since when it has been struggling to become a system and a profession.

Much of the current work in this field, done in India, is overloaded with concepts and instrumentations imported from the West, especially from the U.S.A. This has both expedited and hindered the work. When we now have a body of theoretical knowledge and some standardized tests, we have failed to develop a theory of guidance which should underpin the Indian practices and procedures of guidance. The present

status of guidance is, therefore, based either on total rejection of the imported system or on blind acceptance of it.

In guidance three things are essential: The developmental needs of the individual, the critical problems an individual faces in his life cycle, and the needs of the society the individual belongs to. These three dimensions indicate the guidance strategy which will ultimately come to stay. Sometimes it will be developmental needs which will predominate, sometimes the need for overcoming a critical situation and sometimes the needs of society. The goal of guidance, however, will remain the same, i.e. to assist the individual to develop a purpose through action.

Guidance in its contextual relationship is given different names, viz. when offered in childhood, it is called Child guidance; in educational institutions for the choice of subjects, it is named Educational guidance; in the choice of an occupation it is called Vocational guidance. However, it is not Vocational guidance, when the purpose is selection of suitable workers for the available jobs. In all types of guidance the focus is on the individual and his development and not on the problem or occupation, although in the process the problem or occupation may also receive attention.

The emphasis on the individual, in terms of inherited traits and characteristics, and the environment both familial and societal, which determines the nature of guidance strategy, has become the concern of education. Guidance, therefore, has become an educational activity and hence part of the programme of schools and colleges. This has given rise to the conflict whether guidance should be considered as a separate specificity in the context of education or just one of the activities of a class-room teacher. This conflict is doomed to remain unresolved until the nation is in a position to finance a full-fledged programme of developmental guidance for every student.

Career Development

HAPPINESS and satisfaction in the life of an individual, to a very large extent, hinge on the right choice of an occupation, and on the proper utilization of human resources depends the success and progress of a country. This makes proper selection of workers to man jobs and of jobs to suit persons essentially an important matter. Career development, however, is not such a cut-and-dried process as selection methods may indicate. It is a continuous process rather than an isolated event. It deals with a whole series of important and less important decisions and choices which over a period of time result in occupational preparedness, the final choice depending on the stage of development an individual has reached.

Super (421) points out that the choice of an occupation is one of the points in life at which a young person is called upon to state rather explicitly his concept of himself, to say definitely "I am this or that kind of person." Similarly, holding and adjusting to a job is, for the typical novice-worker, a process of ascertaining first whether that job permits him to play the kind of role he wants to play; secondly, whether the role the job makes him play is compatible with his self-concept; whether the unforeseen elements in it can be assimilated into the self or modified to suit the self; and finally, it is the process of testing his self-concept against the reality, of finding out whether he can actually live up to his picture of himself.

The concept of the self in terms of "I am this or that kind of person", is a long-drawn process formed by failures and successes achieved by playing roles in different life situations beginning under the impact of the family and the school.

family in career development

Sorokin (402) evaluated a number of studies on vertical occupational mobility in an attempt to find out the existing relationship between the occupation of the father and that of the son in Western societies. He made a series of inferences, three of which are as follows:

1. Within present Western societies, children of fathers in the same occupation and often children of the same family, are dispersed among the most diverse occupational groups.
2. Each of the occupational groups at the present moment is recruited from the offspring of the most diverse groups.
3. In spite of the dispersion among different occupations, the 'hereditary' transmission of occupation still exists, and on the average, it is still high enough. It is also likely that the father's occupation is still entered on by the children in a greater proportion than any other (pp. 435-38).

Davidson and Anderson in their San José study (89), further sought to determine the relationship between the family status and occupational career of the son's. Davidson and Anderson discovered that three-fourths of proprietors' fathers were proprietors, that about 40 per cent of the skilled sons had skilled fathers, and that 40 per cent of the unskilled sons emanated from unskilled fathers. Thus the San José study confirmed Sorokin's thesis of job-inheritance. Davidson and Anderson attribute occupational stratification to the forces emanating from the occupational statuses of the fathers and the family environment in which children are reared.

The family influence on sons' occupations has also been validated by Centers (52). In the summer of 1945, Centers obtained information on the occupations of both the subject and his father, by person-to-person interviews, from 637 persons representing the cross section of the adult American white

population. The data disclosed a close similarity between the occupational level of the son and that of his father.

Hollingshead (177) in his field study of 735 youths in a typical Mid-western city of 6,000 population and its adjoining hinterland of 4,000 population found that job choice is, in substance, a parental choice, and the choice itself is related to the status of the parents. This is further confirmed by Smith (397) who points to the relationship between the family position and representation in a college population. College aspiration was also found to be related to parental influence by Kahl (210).

The author (311) studied the occupational aspirations of junior and senior High School students in terms of self-concept and level of occupational aspiration. The sample of 227 consisted of 60 male adolescents of the senior class of one school and 167 of the junior class of another school, in two prosperous upper-middle-class communities in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, U.S.A. The instrument used for investigation was a self-evaluation inventory. The study revealed that adolescents who have a greater degree of identification with parents express a higher level of occupational aspiration. In other words, occupational aspiration to a significant degree is influenced by the evaluations adolescents perceive their parents have of them.

Children from early childhood acquire their attitude towards work from their parents, who act as their first models. Among the children who identify with their parents, there is a greater degree of job identification and they also begin to develop preferences for the types of occupations which their parents value.

This means that children of lower class families are very unlikely to have good work models in their families and hence their occupational goals and aspirations are either aimed lower or are bound to be derived from outside sources which may include neighbours, relatives or even movies. When the models are found outside one's family, the occupational goals may be unrealistic and sometimes set so high or so low as to become

unrealistic. Children deriving their occupational goals from outside agencies may also act contrary to the parental wishes and by setting contrary occupational goals from what their parents offer, learn to behave differently.

Another way in which the family may influence children, is by acting as a channel of transmitting caste and religious values which may ultimately impinge upon occupational preferences. This is obvious if we study the occupational preferences of the children reared in different religious groups. There are certain professions in our country which are not entered into by the Hindus, and there are also occupations which are held sacrilegious by the Muslims. Preferences for handling certain materials or performing certain chores and not dealing with others are developed by the children in their early childhood. Brahmins still prefer intellectual occupations; Jains extol business; Sikhs yearn for military service; Christians prefer humanitarian occupations and Muslims sedulously avoid those occupations which involve the handling of pork and usury. High-caste Hindu and Muslim girls still avoid the nursing profession.

In the segment of Indian society in which cross-fertilization of ideas has been taking place, occupational preferences are relatively undergoing a change, and yet family influence is paramount in the development of a career. Professional people still want to have their children enter professions; business families want their children to be prepared for their own businesses, and persons in military service send their boys to public schools to be prepared for a life in the army. Occupations in the Indian society are still being, to a very large extent, regulated by the family.

school in career development

School is the agency which clarifies, modifies and elaborates some of those forces which are set in motion by the family. By offering a different but highly developed environment, it also modifies the values and urges which children inherit from

their parents. The influence of school on the development of character has been the subject of innumerable books. The oft-quoted saying, "The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton", forcefully brings out the significance of school as a formative influence. It is only in recent times though that the role of the school in career development has been studied more thoroughly. The school is next in importance to the family in preparing and guiding students for occupations.

Gist, Pihlblad, and Gregory (130) found a positive relationship between scholastic achievement and occupation. Their data show fairly conclusively that those students whose school work is superior enter in large numbers the intellectual occupations and those who do poor school work are more inclined to go into vocations which call for "brawn" rather than "brains". Shannon and Shaw (381) also found a positive relationship between college education and professional status.

Warner (579) denounces schools for perpetuating the basic social inequalities by facilitating the rise of a few from lower to higher levels but by continuing to suppress many who try for higher places in society. Teachers, school board members, even the students themselves contribute to this process of discrimination.

Usha and Ashoke Poddar (571) compare the school with a factory and the curricula to pathways which lead to success and failure. Schools are the social elevators which carry a few up but cast many down, and serve the differential needs of differential social groups. Schools distribute students among various curricula: College Preparatory, General, Commercial, Vocational etc., and mark them for specific vocational choices irrespective of moral integrity, honesty or other qualities. Those who are thus unceremoniously dumped down the "chutes" are claimed by the lowest hierarchy of professions. The educational system winnows and sifts the individuals for white-collar, technical, managerial, and professional occupations (590).

In fine then we may say that the family and school are the two most potent influences in determining the career of an

individual. The first partly by means of identification and partly by means of persuasion creates a propulsive yearning for status and attitude towards work in an individual. Mead (265) has warned parents of the "conditional love" which results in a strong desire for achievement and status. Green (162) has focused on the projection of parental ambitions into the careers of their children. The desire for achievement, he considers, is the source of anxiety in the middle-class male child. Talcott Parsons on the contrary (318) thinks that "socialized anxiety" against which Mead and Green have so vehemently warned is at the root of striving for higher achievement in life. Levin (234) refers to this "socialized anxiety" as "status anxiety" and stresses that it is both a source of motivation for the achievement of status as well as a determiner of vocational choice.

The school by functioning partly as a continuation of home and partly as an independent force, exploits status anxiety for achievement, and on the basis of achievement winnows and sifts individual students for different careers. While the school acts as an agency of individual advancement, it perpetuates social inequalities by sending a few up but by keeping many down the social ladder. There is also another way in which the school functions. The school offers an environment to the individual for trying out different roles commensurate with the individual's inherited factors such as intelligence, aptitudes, and interests, to enable the individual to develop a self-concept—(to discover the type of person one is)—which the individual ultimately implements through occupation.

hereditary factors in career development

The implementation of the self-concept which is developed by the interaction of the organism and environment is helped or hindered by certain factors which are mostly hereditary. The hereditary factors include intelligence, aptitudes, interests and personality, which are known to differentiate between persons, and therefore, are the King-Pin in the theory of career development.

intelligence

Children of less privileged families having a higher I.Q. have sometimes an edge over the children of more privileged families having a low I.Q. This is confirmed by Taussig and Joslyn (428) in their study of the American business leaders. They observe that lack of native ability rather than lack of opportunity is primarily responsible for the failure of the lower occupational classes to be well represented in the higher classes.

Osborn (305) did not find any relationship between superior background and superior performance. He found heredity and not superior socio-economic status responsible for the superior performance of the group he studied. Cowen and Gooch (160) did not find any relationship between the high-school background of the students and their college performance. They also stress that heredity and not the previous background is the major, demonstrable force in regulating college achievement which is generally considered a stepping stone to a career.

Clark and Gist (75) in order to find out the role of measured intelligence as a factor in occupational choice, secured the intelligence quotients of school children when they were still in school, and then followed them up by ascertaining the occupations they later entered. Information on 2544 of the persons who took the standardized Terman Intelligence Test in the school year of 1922-23 was secured in 1935 and 1936, approximately 13 years after the tests were given. These persons were found scattered in 40 different rural communities in the States. The median age of the students at the time of testing was approximately 16. Thirteen years later at about 29, the data revealed a positive relationship between measured intelligence and occupational level. The data also disclosed that the range of success was very wide, which confirms Terman's (430) longitudinal study of intellectually gifted individuals.

The variation in occupational choices can be explained by the role of family in occupational choice and in level of occupational aspiration. Choice of occupation and level of aspiration are determined by family persuasion and identification with

parents or parent surrogates. However, these factors are reinforced by the intellectual level of the children. Intelligence has a part to play more in determining the level of occupational choice than success in an occupation. Super (423) writing about the role of intelligence in career development, states that it is generally the index of occupational level aspired to. Brighter children aspire to high level occupations; duller children are more likely to be interested in lower level occupations. He, however, concludes (p. 207).

1. People tend to gravitate towards occupational levels and towards jobs appropriate to the level of their intellectual ability.
2. Given intelligence above the minimum required for entry into an occupation, additional increments of intelligence do not make for greater success (as usually defined) in that occupation. However, intelligence may be related to success in the occupation, when judged by the desirability of the employing situation.
3. In routine occupations, whether manual or clerical, intelligence may be related to the speed with which initial adjustments are made on the job, and is related to advancement to positions of greater responsibility, but is not related to success on the job itself once the learning period is over or the appropriate responsibility level is attained.

aptitudes

Among the psychological entities besides intelligence, there are several other measured elements together called aptitudes which modify and elaborate family influences in career development. Aptitude has been defined as a condition or set of characteristics regarded as symptomatic of an individual's ability to acquire with training some (usually specified) knowledge, skill or set of responses, such as the ability to speak a language, to produce music etc. (433). Aptitudes are con-

sidered stable, unitary and independent and are said to contribute in varying degrees to success in different occupations. Among aptitudes are included perceptual speed and accuracy, manual dexterity, spatial visualization, mechanical comprehension, aesthetic judgment, and musical talent in which persons are found to differ in degree and for which tests are developed. Aptitudes are considered inherited characteristics which are developed in infancy and childhood and are modified and elaborated in adolescence. They tend to be stable during a late adolescence and adult years during which period the career begins to take shape. They remain relatively uninfluenced by everyday experience; this is especially true of some of the important aptitudes such as intelligence, spatial visualization and mechanical comprehension.

Bennet, Seashore, and Wesman (16) made a study of high school juniors and seniors who had taken the *Differential Aptitude Tests* of the Psychological Corporation. The data disclosed a significant pattern of aptitudes among students, who were subsequently "successful" in their different careers. The D.A.T., battery was found useful as a predictor of grades in courses taken, and held up very well in spite of the lapse of time between the testing and the rating. The tests, however, predicted better prospects for the girls than for the boys in the third year. The second study (93) was made by administering D.A.T. twice with an interval of three years. In general the abilities measured by the D.A.T., were found stable.

The first follow-up study (585) of 3,000 students who had been tested as eleventh and twelfth graders in 1947 was made in 1952, five years after the tests were given. This study confirmed the stability of aptitudes and their predictability of vocational choice. The results however gratifying are highly tentative. First, the authors could elicit only 1,800 usable replies out of the 3,000 students to whom they addressed the questionnaires (584), secondly, no multivariate distributions of aptitude scores for individuals in the several groups were obtained and thirdly, the conventional method of correlation coefficient was used for prediction.

Tiedeman (562) has criticized the practice of correlating characteristics with situational indices of "success", in other words, "trait-matching" on the grounds of dubiousness of the conventional logic of relationship basis of comparability and prediction. Tiedeman has recommended the use of the statistical model, the "Multiple Discriminant Function", for discriminating according to antecedent characteristics of those students who will choose and enter upon various occupations.

Cass (51) used the "Multiple Discriminant Function" analysis in his study of group membership in the secondary school curricula in the state of Maine, U.S.A. The study was conducted on entering Freshmen classes of the nine secondary schools which offer the six curricula common to Maine schools: College Preparatory, General, Commercial, Home Economics, Industrial Arts, and Agriculture. Eighteen measurements were taken of each of the 884 freshmen. The combination of measurements used for the first time was:

1. Otis Quick-scoring (Beta) Mental Ability Test.
2. Kuder Preference Record, Vocational (Form CCM)
(10 part scores separately).
3. Mechanical Comprehension Test (AA), Bennett and Fry.
4. Minnesota Paper Form Board, Form AA.
5. Minnesota Clerical Test (numbers and names scores
separately).
6. Age.
7. Sex.
8. Estimated Family Income.

This study lends relative support to the assumption (561) of diversity among Sophomores among curricula and homogeneity among Sophomore pupils within curricula. Discrimination between groups by the method used appears to be on the basis of sex, age, estimated income and interest factors. Of these variables, sex is the most influential. Intelligence, mechanical aptitudes, and clerical aptitudes were found unimportant in curricular choices and prediction.

In short, aptitudes have been found stable and can form the basis for determining success in school courses and later in jobs, because persons who have the aptitude for certain vocations will have an advantage over those who do not possess that aptitude. They have not been found important either in curricular choices or in the prediction of these choices. Very little is also known about their role in the development of vocational preferences or in achieving satisfaction in occupation.

interests

Like the list of aptitudes, the interest list is still in the stage of further elaboration. Interest tests have not yet got beyond the laboratory stage. Interests have been classified as: Expressed interests, Manifest interests and Inventoried interests. Expressed interests are generally expressed preferences; manifest interests are those interests which a person demonstrates through activities and inventoried interests show up on interest tests.

Frandsen and Sessions (111) gave Kuder Preference Record to 187 high school students and found that while some students were motivated at least to some extent by interests others were apparently highly motivated by extrinsic motives in school achievement. George and Kingston (126) found that the measured interest pattern of certain male freshmen had changed radically after a period of less than two months of college work.

McArthur (262) reports that Strong Vocational Interest Blank predicted both choices of job and subsequent contentment for public school boys; for private school boys it predicted nothing at all. In another paper McArthur (263) points out that inventoried interests are valid predictors of vocational choice for public school boys; expressed interests are valid predictors for private school boys.

Summing up the role of interests in career development we may state that when the sources of motivation lie outside the activity itself, interests have not been found to relate to achieve-

ment. Interests have also been found culture-bound and are not as stable as aptitudes. Dimichael (90, 91) has, therefore, warned against overstressing the role of interests in career development. Super (417, 418, 419) recommends the use of a variety of Interest inventories over different periods of the individual's school career before any valid inferences can be drawn about the relevance of their results in counselling.

personality

Personality has been defined in several ways, almost in as many ways as there are psychological disciplines. In terms of stimulus-response theory personality is defined in terms of the nature of reactions of an individual to a stimulus situation or as a sum total of a number of relatively unitary characteristics, integrated into a functioning unit. In terms of Social-role Approach, personality is viewed as the patterning of behaviour in various types of situations, especially in terms of the impact of the individual on others as investigated through sociometry and rating. Still another approach called Phenomenological or self-concept, considers personality in terms of a frame of self-reference, the way an individual organizes his perceptions of his self and environment and the way he perceives the reality. The oldest approach to personality called Psychoanalytical which forms the cornerstone of psychodiagnostic techniques, views personality in terms of unconscious needs and drives which motivate human behaviour. Personality theories and the methods of assessing personality have been reviewed by Bhattacharya (24) without arriving at any conclusive results.

Forer (110) and Meadow (266), however, contend that personality factors are of significant importance in choosing a vocation. The choice of occupation is not rational but somewhat blind, impulsive, emotional, and automatic. In other words, the primary reasons are unconscious. Interests, and a futile search for status which the individual cannot obtain in his daily living, have unconscious roots. Particular patterns of personality organization foster particular types of ability.

Freud (117) regards intellectual, humanitarian, cultural and artistic pursuits as examples of sublimation due to the deflection of instinctual energy from its real, i.e. sexual goal. Freud (115) further observes that the interest of Leonardo da Vinci in painting was a sublimated expression of mother-fixation. Leonardo da Vinci's thirst for knowledge was an attempt at eluding sex repression. Unsatisfied wishes (114) are the driving power behind imaginative creations. Occupational careers such as acting, dramatics, music and art are thus resultant of an unconscious attempt at repressing strong sex yearnings and canalizing them into creative activities.

Ginzberg (128) and Berg (17) are reluctant to accept unconscious motives as choice determiners on the grounds of methodological limitations of measuring psycholanalytical concepts objectively. In view of the broad summary of studies bearing on certain psychoanalytical formulations, given by Sears (373) and the work of Whiting in collaboration with Child (588) in testing certain Freudian concepts in the field of anthropology, we may hope to see more concepts being validated and new instruments being developed in order to find out the relationship between personality and occupation. Hence any conclusions reached at this stage on the basis of current theories of personality are highly tentative.

Super (413) points out that there is no relationship between personality traits and scores on performance tests; there is no relationship between personality traits and achievement (415); and that the relationship between personality traits and vocational choice is not close (420). He also adds (423) that personality traits seem to have no clear-cut practical significant differential-relationship to vocational preference, entry, success, or satisfaction.

reality factors in career development

There are several factors which act as reality factors in enlarging or restricting the choice of occupation. Among the reality factors are culture in terms of joint-family, caste, religion and

community, war and peace, national and natural calamities, trade cycle, fashion change, scientific and technological changes, unionism, public policies, localization of industries, urbanism, supply and demand, chronic unemployment, physical disabilities, industrialization and language. All these factors when operative singly or in combination call for a modification in the self-concept of the individual in order to make a satisfactory adjustment.

When the country is industrialized, opportunities for the employment of scientists and engineers immensely multiply. On account of a century of prestige associated with intellectual professions in India the lure of technical professions was at its minimum. The required number of technicians and engineers was not forthcoming. The Indian Government had to institute a large number of scholarships for attracting technical and scientific talent in the country. This was also meant to offer financial assistance to those talented boys who through lack of resources might have been diverted to other professions. The emphasis on technical and scientific education has brought about a modification in the vocational concepts of the students who are now opting out in large numbers for scientific courses on the higher secondary school level. The recent trend again seems to be a de-emphasis on engineering because of the disparity in supply and demand of engineers; colleges are producing more engineers than can be absorbed in the economy (520).

a theory of career causation

The interaction of the various influences including home, school, heredity and the reality factors is so complex that it leads individuals to think that their careers have been determined by accident. The following excerpts from the case histories of two teachers confirm this generalization.

"There are several factors," says one, "that make one get into the teaching profession, among which some may be mentioned here:—(a) a bare necessity of life that forces one to

become a teacher, (b) sheer fancy—a fancy whose origins go back into one's own student days, (c) an accident and (d) an aimless education." The third factor namely "an accident" has been emphasized by the other teacher also, who says, "I must frankly say at the very outset that my inclination to be in the teaching profession revolved around three factors... It was by accident, by necessity, and by an innate nature of moulding young minds as well as their bodies that imperceptibly and consciously gave me the inclination."

Miller and Form (274) have offered the equilibrium theory to account for career causation: "Social background, native ability, historical circumstances and individual attributes are the influences determining the career pattern of any person." They further add that "these forces may be considered as intertwined and pulling upon each worker with different intensities at various times in his career. By the time a man or woman reaches thirty-five or forty years of age these forces often become equilibrated and what the occupational history is from thirty-five to sixty years is a fair index of whatever stability the worker will experience" (pp. 740-741).

These two authors, in the light of the above-cited formulation have come to the conclusion that workers can be placed in different categories according to their career orientations which are ambitious, responsive, fulfilled, confused, frustrated, and defeated. These career orientations or attitudinal sets accompany with a work progression which can be termed as rising, repeating and paralleling, completed, erratic, blocked and regressive. The five career patterns which they (p. 37) have constructed are: (1) preparatory, (2) initial, (3) trial, (4) stable, and (5) retired. Thus each one of these career patterns is associated with a corresponding attitudinal set and a kind of work progression.

A ranking of the classification from most secure to least secure establishes the following listing.

Professional and semi-professional
Owners, managers, and officials

- Skilled workers and foremen
- Clerks and kindred workers
- Semi-skilled workers
- Domestic and personal service workers
- Unskilled workers

It can be seen that a high degree of occupational stability and security is commonly achieved by workers in the professional, proprietary, and skilled classifications. Clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled workers find occupational stability and security much more elusive.

The analysis of the incidence of these career patterns revealed that professional workers typically have varied initial work experiences, and tend to proceed immediately from college to stable professional employment. Managerial workers typically have varied initial work experience, varied trial jobs, and then stabilize as managers. Clerical and sales workers normally have a variety of low-job level initial experiences, somewhat varied trial jobs, and their careers stabilize rather late. Skilled workers have patterns rather like those of clerical and sales workers. Semi-skilled workers have somewhat varied initial and trial jobs, and stabilize late. Unskilled and domestic workers are vertically immobile during their initial and trial periods, and tend not to stabilize in any one field, but rather to have a succession of varied low-level occupations.

In the absence of sufficient data on the career patterns of women it is difficult to map out the patterns of women in as logical a sequence as that of men. Nevertheless, women's careers, career orientations, and career motivations differ from those of men and are likely to continue to differ in important respects. Super (423, p. 77-78) has constructed the career patterns of women as outlined below:

1. The stable homemaking career pattern: This category which is the most predominant includes all women who marry while in or very shortly after leaving school or college, having expected to do so and having had no significant work experience.

2. The conventional career pattern: This category is the second largest classification in which are included all those women who after having a brief or prolonged work experience such as nursing, teaching, saleswomanship, receptionist, clerical work, occupational therapy or secretarial work get married and devote the rest of life to homemaking.

3. The stable working career pattern: This category involves all those women who make career a permanent thing. Instead of getting married and making a home they devote their entire lives to working. These women are generally called career women.

4. The double track career pattern: This pattern is of the woman who keeps both a home and an occupation except for the period when she is bearing children. The pattern is most common near the upper and lower ends of the occupational scale, among women physicians and scientists, and among women domestics, presumably because the challenge of the work, or the income it produces, is important to the woman in question. The double role is in neither case easy, for the married working woman usually has two jobs, one with and one without pay.

5. The interrupted career pattern: The pattern is interrupted by marriage or by work. This pattern generally includes widowed or divorced women or women who having their children grown up go back to work. They may return to their original field of work or may engage in some new work-activity depending on the skill, training or new interests while being away from the job.

6. The unstable career pattern: This may be the pattern of women at the lower socio-economic level and consists of working, homemaking, working again, returning to full time homemaking etc.

7. The multi-trial career pattern: This pattern is the same in women as the similarly named pattern in men. It consists of a succession of unrelated jobs, with stability in none, resulting in the individual having no genuine life-work.

These career patterns which have been constructed for the

working men and women in Western countries may be generalized for men and women in urban society in India and may not be at all valid for rural society. It is a field in which research is extensively called for in order to understand the dynamics of career choice and adjustment. Even in Indian urban society the sequence of suggested patterns or the categories of persons in these patterns may change, ushering in new insights into the theory of career development.

summary

Career development is a process of synthesizing the self-concept which is formed in early adolescence with the reality factors influencing the supply and demand of workers in the world of work. In the process of developing a career, therefore, the influences which impinge upon the individual and the society are to be integrated in a way that compromise between individual needs and social demands is brought about. Among the factors which influence the individual are family, school and hereditary factors, and among reality factors, which influence society, are industrialization, scientific and technological changes and community pressures. These influences ultimately equilibrate in the case of individuals in terms of career patterns, and hence career patterns can be developed and guided during childhood and adolescence.



Diagnosis in Counselling

place of diagnosis in counselling

The place of diagnosis in counselling has remained a debatable question. It has followed the lines specified for diagnosis and prognosis in medical science. The first step in medical treatment is to name the malady from which the individual has been suffering. It followed that a similar procedure should be adopted in counselling, namely to label the condition causing the difficulty before psychological treatment was given. Being allied to medical science Psychiatry borrowed this method, and passed it on to counselling which is similar in its aims to the latter. Hence the role of physician was assigned to the psychotherapist.

The process of diagnosing in counselling involves six major steps (593). These are: (i) analysis, (ii) synthesis, (iii) diagnosis, (iv) prognosis, (v) counselling (treatment), (vi) and follow-up.

Analysis implies the collection of data from a variety of sources so that an adequate understanding of the client is made. These sources may include test results, questionnaires, anecdotal records, biographical sketches, rating-scales etc.

Synthesis refers to the summarizing and organizing of the data collected through available sources in such a manner that a client-construct is made. The organized picture of the client should reveal his assets, liabilities, adjustments and maladjustments. It should, as far as possible, be an approximation of the client. A case history (277), or a cumulative record card (242) may be used to summarize the mass of data

about the client's life, and test scores can be summarized on a profile or a psychograph.

Diagnosis refers to the conclusions to be drawn from the summarized data about the client's problem and the causes of his difficulty. It is the clinical conclusions concerning the characteristics and causes underlying the problems of the client. Diagnosis in a sense is the decision of the therapist concerning the trouble the client has been suffering and the probable factors causing the trouble. It is the hypothesis of the therapist regarding the client's problem, indicating the line of treatment.

Prognosis refers to the clinician's statement, or prediction of the future development of the client's problem, i.e. whether he will readjust or what will be the probable outcome of a particular course of action. It is a statement of the implications and probable future development of the client's illness or adjustment.

Counselling in the clinical sense refers to the steps or suggestions made by the therapist. This also includes the aids offered by the therapist to the client. The aids may include information, assurance or the method of removing ambiguities, logical inconsistencies and confusions by means of discussion or by the question-answer method.

The final step in clinical counselling is "follow-up" which includes an attempt at rehabilitating the client in normal life. It includes what the clinician does to assist the client with new problems, with recurrence of the original problems, and what is done to determine the effectiveness of counselling. It, therefore, refers to the final check-up to ascertain the result in terms of behaviour change or adjustment which the client has exhibited in handling his old problems or new situations.

Diagnosis and prognosis have provided the foundations for many efficiently functioning school programmes of counselling. It also forms the basis of training programmes for student counsellors. Guidance agencies have built their psychological services around diagnosis as a central concept. Quite a few counsellors have organized their thinking around diagnosis

being the heart of the counselling process. "It has the virtue of bringing clarity and order into a very complex field. Furthermore, few would quarrel with the idea that it is good for a psychologist or an educator to learn to fit many diverse items of information about an individual into some understandable pattern. Many workers feel that the ability to do this is one of their most indispensable skills" (568, p. 84).

There are, however, several weighty objections to organizing counselling around diagnosis, even when it is of this thorough skilful variety. First of all the simplicity of the method as outlined in textbooks on clinical counselling is rather misleading. It is complex when implemented in practice. The method is complicated and time-consuming. It is difficult to separate the diagnosis from the treatment. The gap between collecting the analytical data on which the therapist's hypothesis is based and the treatment may reinforce the feeling of depression in the client. In some cases what we do in our attempt to make a diagnosis may turn out to be a wrong kind of treatment. The very act of taking tests, filling out questionnaires and giving biological data influences the client's attitude in directions other than desired. The eagerness on the part of an evasive individual to face the real source of his difficulties may disappear by the time he comes for the second interview. In fact diagnosis and treatment are part of the process of counselling whether they are undertaken in one or several interviews and it is, therefore, not possible to separate the diagnostic aspects from the rest.

There are also counsellors who challenge the usefulness of diagnosis in counselling on the grounds that the condition demanding psychological help is primarily a non-organic condition and it is, therefore, not subject to those laws which govern organic conditions. Diagnostic formulations of categories of ailments which are concerned with the perceptions and attitudes of patients at best are only to be tentative and hypothetical. They are consequently unreliable. Psychiatrists point out that their categories such as schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis, paranoia and the others are not like tuberculosis, ulcers and scarlet fever, since they are based on observa-

tion of symptoms that appear to be correlated, rather than on an understanding of causal factors. If there are objections to the use of psychiatric terms, one can object even more strongly to the use of labels for conditions within the normal range.

There are also rather serious objections to using prognosis as a concept in counselling. Prognosis about the chances of recovery of the individual from his present condition will be likely to reduce the eagerness of the individual to make an effort to overcome his conflict in case the prognosis is unfavourable, and may also result in the increase of dependence of the client on the counsellor. This is more true when the individual is a dependent sort of person. Diagnosis and prognosis not only will result in a loss of personality of the client but will also result in some kind of social control of the many by the few. "As this process is extended to more and more persons, it means a subtle control of persons and their values and goals by a group which has selected itself to do the counselling" (353, p. 224).

There is yet another objection that can be raised against clinical predictions. They are of doubtful validity. Unless clinicians subject their predictions to a test of validity, prediction is only a matter of "hit" or "miss" and can be relied upon as much as one would on an astrologer's skill. This is to stress the point that the kind of diagnosis and prognosis which is made in medical science is neither feasible nor desirable in counselling.

Out of the controversy whether diagnosis should form the basis of counselling has emerged a considerable measure of agreement on the general value of test information in helping individuals with educational and vocational choices. On account of the rise of non-directive counselling, the controversy on how best the test results can be integrated in the counselling process without the counsellor assuming an authoritarian attitude has almost ceased. Now enough evidence is available to show that the advantage of both the test results and a non-authoritarian attitude can be combined to facilitate a client's decision. If the counsellor can convey his synthesis of the test results and other information to the client and enable him to

assimilate it, the decision that finally emerges need not lead to a definite prediction or be the one occupational or educational plan carrying the best prognosis. It will be instead a course of action for which the client is completely willing to take the risk. (568).

We can make the following generalizations regarding diagnosis, prognosis and testing in counselling:

1. Diagnosis and prognosis on the lines on which they are made in medical science are neither practical nor desirable in counselling, because the present state of knowledge in the dynamics of psychological conditions is such that no hard and fast nosological classification system has been devised yet which is not open to question. Diagnosis made in terms of a dynamic syndrome can be misleading and can hardly be a valid basis for making a prognosis.

2. Unless clinical predictions are subjected to tests of validity, reliance on them might turn out to be no better than chance.

3. Diagnosis in counselling in the present state of development of psychological science can be undertaken in terms of a hypothesis or a composite picture of the client, that may emerge from the test results, background information and the observation by the counsellor in the interview. This picture at best will be a client-construct or an approximation of the counselee.

4. Counselling in vocational and educational problems gives better results when test results are incorporated in it, than without them.

5. The benefits accruing from both the testing and the non-authoritarian attitude can be combined for educational and vocational guidance if the testing schedule is developed in co-operation with the client through a client-centred interview.

when and how to use test results

The first question that concerns a counsellor is when to and when not to use the tests; secondly, whether the client wants more information for which the use of tests is necessary; and thirdly, how to use the test results in counselling.

Counselling primarily aims at the welfare of the individual client. Every activity of the counsellor and his every decision, therefore, will be to enhance the interest of the client. Any activity or decision of the counsellor that may either harm or discourage the client in achieving a rapport with the counsellor would result in a failure of therapy, and yet any false hope or assurance given by the counsellor will belie his professional ethics and undermine the confidence of the client in him. Hence the choice with the counsellor is to be true to his own profession and also to be true to the client, so that the client does not depart with the truth about himself as a more unhappy man. The role of the counsellor, however, is reversed if he is working as a scientist or as a practitioner in a social agency whose job it is to select personnel to man jobs.

The tests are very effective in situations in which the counsellor is acting as a personnel manager, and the sole aim is the selection of efficient workers for a firm. Tests may also be used if the counsellor is working as an admission officer, and the purpose is selection of the most fit candidates. In an army establishment, a similar situation may arise in which the purpose may be sheer selection for which the use of tests is a quick and economical procedure.

Psychological testing procedures may be specially valuable in the work of the counsellor in certain special circumstances. Where case history is missing, inadequate, or for other reasons faulty, the need for obtaining the necessary information by means of tests gains in importance. In situations in which time is insufficient or where circumstances make the taking of case history impossible the information collected through tests may be invaluable. An emergency use of tests, nevertheless, becomes a necessity in a war situation when counsellors who otherwise are scarce in peacetime, are either overworked, more scarce or are to be left to devote themselves to therapeutic work, which leaves relatively little time for them to do intensive diagnostic study. Testing procedures in such situations become an important adjunct in shortening the laborious work of case-history-making and observation. It is, nevertheless, important

to remember that unless it is impossible or otherwise unavoidable the emergency use of tests is least desirable. The safe and ideal use of psychological testing procedures lies in the obtaining of parallel and independent clinical and testing data.

Tests are the effective means of group selection, because even an unreliable test gives better results than chance in a group; but in a college or a school situation, in which the aim of counselling is personality development, the use of tests should be a matter of the utmost consideration and thoughtfulness because in the individual case the investigator has only one opportunity to predict and just one error may influence the life of the client drastically. The initial hopes that the development of tests had aroused have vanished when more and more research data have become available in the field of testing. The counselling psychologists have since had second thoughts on the use of tests and are now more restrained in their claims on the effectiveness of testing in individual cases.

A careful counsellor, therefore, before embarking on a test schedule will ask himself several questions, whether the individual student needs more information about himself, whether the student is emotionally ready to accept the test information, and whether testing will be an adequate means of discovering the handicap the student has been suffering from? The client can be helped by means of tests to possess more information about himself but cannot be made to accept it as part of his self-apparatus, a job which counselling alone can perform.

First of all, the counsellor before sharing the test results with the client will take many precautions to reduce the ill-effects of the unreliability of the measuring instruments, and the distortion and exaggeration which are caused by the perceptions of the client. It is not always that errors happen because of the fault of the instrument, the motives and perceptions of the client also colour the information that he might receive from the counsellor. In the case of a person who has a weak will the information that his chances of failure in a certain profession are 75 per cent may result in a total depression and

abandonment of all effort, while in the case of an over-enthusiast the disclosure that his chances of success are 25 per cent may result in self over-estimation and lack of realistic self-appraisal. He might refuse to consider other but higher occupations, in which his chances of success are much greater.

Secondly, the counsellor will check each test result against the case history for consistency. In a case of incompatability he would administer a second comparable test to cross-check the significant findings of the first test, and will also look for special factors, such as a language difficulty or an emotional block, which might make the test invalid. The safe course is to treat a test performance as a means of placing the subject in a probable range of scores, rather than pegging him firmly at a particular percentile. Tests rarely misfire in stating that a child is somewhat, but not extremely, below average in scholastic aptitude. The statement that this child's I.Q. is 87 is almost untrue, in the sense that further data would not precisely confirm it (81).

Another precaution that the counsellor may take is to avoid giving the test score to the client or even a co-worker unless they are qualified to interpret the score and will understand it. The effects of misinterpreting the score may last a life-time. The guardian who has high expectations from his child may unconsciously reject his child's being mentally weak; the teacher with that information may either do likewise or expect a lower performance from the child than he is capable of, while the entire life of the child may be affected by the stigma which he might carry unconsciously all his life. The subject might react to future testing with worry, fear and hostility. Earle (97) has, therefore, recommended the use of tests in clinical procedure as much as a physician uses a thermometer, or as has been suggested by Pandit (313), to use the test results as a looking-glass. Much of the ill-effects of testing and of sharing the test score can be watered down if the counsellor has the knack and skill of sharing the information with the client. This can be done through a decision-making interview, which has been discussed in the following chapters.

diagnostic tools in counselling

Williamson (593, p. 135) mentions six tools of diagnosis which are useful in clinical counselling in three problem-areas viz. personality, educational, and vocational. These six tools are: (i) the cumulative record, (ii) the interview, (iii) the time-distribution form, (iv) the autobiography, (v) the anecdotal records, and (vi) the psychological tests. These tools are very handy for a counsellor working for a school.

the cumulative record

Essentially the cumulative record is a tool for summarizing the significant items of a case history and for emphasizing the direction and rate of development of the client's personality. Keeping of a cumulative record for each student is becoming a common practice in good Indian schools, but not much thought has been given to the objectives for which such records should be maintained. The mere filling of columns or collecting vague impressions about the student does not make the cumulative card a valid instrument of clinical diagnosis. The data collected should show the direction and character of the behaviour and performance changes that the student has exhibited from year to year. The cumulative card if maintained realistically with an eye on the objectives should be a mirror of the past and of the present of the student and reflect his future behaviour trends and performance, which will assist the counsellor in analyzing the salient trends in the past to understand the present and to hypothesize for the future of the student.

This advantage however is counterbalanced by the drawback that the record has. The chief weakness of this tool lies in the fact that it is a summary that omits many significant facts which cannot be condensed on account of the limited space it provides for making entries. This drawback of the cumulative record becomes more glaring when it is used as a substitute for counselling. The drawback of the cumulative record can how-

ever, be made good by counselling. Even when psychological tests are available the need for keeping cumulative records will remain paramount, and would come handy for short-term counselling or shot-gun vocational counselling in schools. Each school should develop its own record form keeping in view the available guidance facilities and the needs of the students. Standardization of a cumulative card may not even be possible.

the interview

In an interview when the purpose is analysis, the degree of success will depend on the degree of rapport the counsellor is able to establish with the client. Rapport in analysis facilitates the process of helping the client in recalling and verbalizing information about himself on which is built the counsellor's hypothesis.

There are ways in which the counsellor can make a tentative hypothesis of the problem of the client and seek some sort of confirmation in counselling. But this kind of counselling should not exceed a single interview. A clinical observation of the client's behaviour as he enters the counsellor's chamber followed by an observation of the client's behaviour during the counselling interview will give the counsellor an idea whether he should accept the client as his own case or refer him to a psychiatrist. Fuster (121) has given the criteria to help the counsellor to make such a tentative estimate of the client. The syndrome mentioned by Fuster or any nosological categories suggested by other clinical psychologists to classify patients with psychological disorders may prove to be helpful in clinical work. Beyond that their utility ends.

Abnormality may assume any of the forms mentioned below:

Emotional instability or maladjustment	- Psychoneurosis
Behaviour disintegration	- Psychosis
Under-developed intelligence	- Feeble-mindedness

Amoral or immoral behaviour - Anti-social personality, or Psychopathic personality.

psychoneurosis

Wilson (594, p. 180) defines "neurosis as it is applied to behaviour, which is irrational to a sufficient degree to disturb the individual in his relations to other individuals and to behaviour which the individual may recognize as irrational but of which he does not know the cause". A neurosis is distinguished from a psychosis by the fact that a neurosis is irrational under a definite set of circumstances, while a psychosis is behaviour which is irrational under all circumstances. In other words, a psychoneurotic does not lose touch with reality while the psychotic is cut off from reality. The psychoneurotic is quite capable of functioning effectively on his job and maintaining meaningful relationships with other individuals, although it is done at great emotional cost and strain.

Meyer (272) suggests that psychoneurosis is a functioning disorder, even when it has an overlaying of organic diseases. Neurosis can occur quite independent of organic disorders, or may later be overlaid with associate or concomitant physiological disturbances such as irritability of the colon, tachycardia, or excessive perspiration. He mentions some of the following symptoms and signs so as to distinguish neurosis from disorders of organic origin as a handy guide for a general practitioner.

symptoms

- (a) *Headache*: This very common symptom is most often localized in the back of the head and neck, although it may be frontal. If the pain is on top of the head, it usually suggests a severe, often hysterical type of psychoneurotic disorder.
- (b) *Inability to read or think*: These symptoms indicate the

patients' inability to concentrate on anything but themselves and their problems. In moderately severe or severe cases, these are usually present.

- (c) *Insomnia*: A symptom that is often on the same basis as (b). Some have trouble getting to sleep; others develop the pattern of awakening early without the ability to fall asleep again—a very suggestive symptom of an emotional disorder.
- (d) *Dizziness*: This is frequently a symptom resulting from hyperventilation inadvertently carried on, which may be a conditioned reaction to stress.

Commonly several of the symptoms listed here may exist in the same individual. However, one symptom is likely to predominate, although a subsequent shift to another predominating symptom is not unusual. Characteristically, even with a multiplicity of complaints, a certain vagueness is common in the patient's description of his symptoms.

signs

The specific physical signs that should immediately suggest an anxiety tension state may be listed as follows:

- (a) *Sighing*: The patient who, while sitting beside your desk giving the history, sighs frequently, is nearly always fatigued and fatigued because of a state of tension and emotional unrest of considerable duration. This patient is hyperventilating and hence, is likely to have the symptoms of hyperventilation, i.e. dizziness, lightheadedness, palpitation, a sense of tightness in the chest, and possibly precordial pain.
- (b) *Tinted glasses*: Whenever a patient wears tinted glasses, one can suspect an anxiety tension state. This is not invariably so, not everyone who wears tinted glasses has psychoneurosis, but it is very commonly true that tinted glasses have this significance....

- The tinted glasses have two purposes; first, they serve as a shield from the world; and, secondly, because these patients are uneasy and secrete an excess of adrenalin, their pupils are often widely dilated, so that bright light is distressing.
- (c) *Bitten fingernails*: Bitten fingernails almost invariably indicate that the person, adult or child, is a nervous, emotionally unstable person.
 - (d) *Axillary perspiration*: In the tense person, excessive axillary perspiration will often be present and will drip on the examining table.... This sign more often is observed in men.... Patients with hypermetabolism also, of course, demonstrate this excessive perspiration.

Psychosis: A term used to denote a complete disorganization of human behaviour. The psychotic loses touch with his environment and indulges in actions which may have a symbolic significance. He uses a language of his own which is ritualistic and incoherent. He is confused and is incapable of establishing a rapport with the counsellor. Hallucinations, delusions, depressions alternated with agitation make it unsafe for him to be left by himself. A suicidal attempt is not an uncommon characteristic of psychosis. The psychotic is not legally responsible for his actions and needs hospitalization. While psychoneurosis is a state of tension and anxiety it does not affect the human faculties; psychosis is gradual and progressive until it affects all the human faculties. In certain cases psychoneurosis may develop into a psychosis.

The feeble-minded: A term used to denote the mentally deficient or mentally underdeveloped. Feeble-mindedness is hereditary, and can be helped or hindered by environmental factors. Unless it is of an extreme kind the feeble-minded can be helped to become a useful citizen. In its extreme form it renders the individual incapable of self-management, and calls for institutional care.

Psychopathic personality: A term used to denote a person with retarded moral development. The psychopath, unlike

the feeble-minded is the product of society. He is selfish, emotionally unstable, impulsive, and incapable of conforming to the commonly accepted social or moral code. He usually gets into trouble with the law and is hostile to authority.

The following hints if followed by the school counsellor, may make the interview yield positive results:

1. The interview should not be misused to collect routine information which may make the student restless and reluctant to return for counselling. In cases in which information is required the counsellor may ask the counselee to fill, especially for educational and vocational purposes, check lists and case history forms before appearing for the interview.
2. Unless it is group therapy, seldom do students open up in the presence of a third person. Rapport is always the one-to-one relationship. For this reason, privacy is a necessary condition for interviewing. The violation of this obvious condition is undoubtedly one of the reasons why so much counselling does not get across to the student and operate in his life.
3. The counsellor as far as possible should make out a complete summary of the salient facts he has learned including diagnostic questions, comments, and questions asked by the student. A running account of the interview is far more important than a single summary such as is usually recorded on a cumulative record form. Many of those facts prove to be of significance when the case history is completed, even though their importance is not immediately apparent. No counsellor should depend on his memory in the belief that it is infallible, to carry such data. Even to wait a day before dictating may cause significant data to be forgotten, or confused with that discovered in subsequent interviews with other students.

Time Distribution Form: One of the significant causes of student backwardness is the waste of time which happens

because the student is unaware of how he spends his daily time. In such cases the counsellor should encourage the student to keep an account of how he spends his daily time. This can be done by means of a printed form with columns provided for making entries of the amount of time spent in activities, hour by hour, for one week. A summary of such type activities such as study, sleep, transportation, meals, social and recreational activities and waste time etc., will permit comparison with similar data collected from a sampling of other students, which will make the student aware of the fact how time can be distributed. The student can bring the time-distribution chart with him when he meets the counsellor.

autobiography

The gaps in the information collected through the interview and time-distribution form can be plugged by means of an account which is prepared by the student in the form of an autobiography. An autobiography is a story organized around one's own experiences, ideas, attitudes, inhibitions and ambitions told in the manner peculiar to the writer himself. This should be done without any guidance or direction from the counsellor. In this sense, the autobiography is a loose form of analysis by the free association method. Perhaps the appropriate method of getting the student to write his biography will be if the counsellor in the first interview suggest that the student write in some such way, "Maybe you will find it easier to tell me your life story in writing. Why not look me up again, if you want, with your autobiography. I hope you won't hesitate to mention anything that you think is important for you."

anecdotal records

While in an interview the counsellor collects the data of his own observation of the student, by means of an autobiography he is able to collect the observational data by the student of himself.

The gaps in both these types of observation can be filled by the data collected by the teacher in the class which should be based on his own observation. Thus autobiographical data can be supplemented by anecdotal records, which came up as a reaction against the artificiality and oversimplification of characteristics in rating scales as well as the restrictive limitations of personality tests. In using this method, teachers will write out a brief description of the actual behaviour of the student they observe in the class-room, or elsewhere. The student's behaviour and remarks are recorded as faithfully as possible. Efforts are made to get the teacher record what he sees and hears and to avoid all interpretation of that behaviour. Anecdotes are also summarized in the cumulative record form. When collected over a period of years and combined with other case data, they yield an insight into the student's personality not available from other sources.

psychological tests

Generally the term "test" is used to denote a measure of ability and, therefore, numerous other words are used to refer to devices for estimating typical performance. Self-report devices in particular are referred to by many names: "inventory", "questionnaire", "opinionnaire", "checklist", "record", etc. These procedures are commonly reserved for "personality" evaluation. There are several other methods of measuring personality, which are called adjustment tests, character tests, attitude tests, etc. Character tests have been developed to measure traits upon which society places a moral valuation, such as stealing, lying, and cheating. Attitude tests study the person's opinion regarding political and social policies and institutions. Interest tests are similar to attitude tests but are meant to sample activities for which the subject has a liking.

Until psychological tests were developed, the clinical psychologist had only two basic and time-honoured tools of diagnosis, that of the case history in the form of a cumulative record and

that of clinical observation in the form of interview. These methods still continue to hold the field of clinical psychology.

The role of psychological tests in assessing personality has already been discussed in Chapter VI under the heading "Matching men with jobs", only two of the psycho-diagnostic tests, therefore, namely the Rorschach Inkblots and the Thematic Apperception Test, which are mostly used in diagnosis are discussed under the heading of projective tests.

projective tests

Projective tests offer the person an unstructured or a semi-structured situation in which he can project his unconscious motives and repressed feelings. In this sense projective tests are an extension and further development of the method of situation tests. The difference between these two types of tests, however, is that while the situation tests place the individual in a simulated life situation in which his intellectual and emotional powers come into play, the projective tests are the technique of presenting the individual with unstructured ink-blots or semi-structured pictures, which enable him to react intellectually and emotionally. Among the most widely used unstructured projective tests, Rorschach Inkblots has the most honoured place and among the semistructured projective tests, the first place has been allotted to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test.

The idea underlying all the projective tests is the same. The individual when confronted with ink-blots or situations vaguely depicted through pictures reacts to them through his total personality. These tests offer the individual a phenomenological field in which he reacts to his self-concept. Projective tests, therefore, are considered as the most effective means of testing the "whole person". "They resemble a standardization of the dream interpretation that Freud introduced" (81, p. 433).

Although projective tests are especially designed to lay bare the individual's unconscious motivation and the pattern of his organizing and synthesizing capacity, the distinction between

tests of personality and tests of ability is arbitrary. There are tests of ability which can be used as a clinical method for studying the personality of abnormals, and perhaps of normal persons. The Rorschach test of personality proves to be especially useful as an indication of intellectual functioning. Such contradictions belie conventional thinking about ability and personality being separate entities. "Intelligence, instead of being an inborn fixed quality, is increasingly found to be a growing changing process, moulded by anxiety, emotion, security, and other feelings. While a theory of hereditary capacity is still tenable, no theory of operating intelligence can pretend to isolate it from emotional factors. As clinical and experimental studies capitalize on new techniques for studying how intellects function, the separate aspects of ability and behaviour will increasingly merge into a concept of the person as a whole." (81, p. 453). The phenomenological approach to personality functioning in terms of self-concept and in terms of traits and characteristics may bridge the gap between projective psychology and trait psychology.

In the use of projective techniques the counsellor should be further on his guard as far as the following points are concerned (337).

1. Projective techniques should be handled under expert guidance and seldom without proper training.
2. No single test proves to yield in all cases a diagnosis or to be in all cases correct in the diagnosis it indicates.
3. Psychological maladjustment, whether severe or mild may encroach on any or several of the functions tapped by psychological tests, leaving other functions absolutely or relatively unimpaired. This leads to a useful conclusion that the counsellor in his zeal for helping the client should not disturb the adjustment the client has with reality and instead should suggest counselling if in the absence of psychiatric help the client would like to be referred to a competent authority in the field.
4. Although projective techniques are not as much culture-

bound as other psychological, especially mental tests are, counsellors working in India would depend on counselling more than on projective techniques until they are validated for the use of the Indian population.

summary and conclusions

The controversy whether diagnosis and prognosis as in medical science, is possible in counselling, has continued for a long time. As more and more research has accumulated in the field of counselling psychology, it has become obvious that in the present stage of development of psychological science, a medical approach to human behaviour is neither feasible nor desirable. And yet, there is a general consensus that educational and vocational decisions can be made more wisely and realistically if test information is incorporated in counselling.

There are a variety of tests to serve a variety of purposes of counselling but these are not substitutes for it, and in fact are of doubtful validity for counselling purposes. Unless required by the exigencies of war, industrial requirements of manpower or the condition of the client, an emergency use of diagnostic techniques should be eschewed, and if used individually corroborative evidence should be sought by means of a case history and observational methods. Tests are used best when their results are used for informing the client of his characteristics, the way a thermometer is used by the physician or a looking-glass by the client. This can be done if the information is shared with the client in a non-directive interview.

Counselling Tools and Techniques

THE counselling tools and techniques can be studied in the five major areas of their concern, viz. conversation usually called the "dialogue" between the counsellor and client, counsellor-client relationship, limits on the nature and time of counselling, counsellor's attitudes and sex, and finally the counselling interview including those various steps in which the process of counselling develops. However neatly the use of tools and techniques and the sequence of steps in counselling may be delineated, they will at least be a compendium for the raw novice counsellor. It will ultimately depend on the personality of the counsellor how the tools and techniques of counselling are used and the sequence in which the counsellor-client dialogue takes place and the relationship develops.

dialogue in counselling

In a counselling situation the counsellor is to interact with the client by means of language. Writing about the power of words as a means of interaction between the physician and the patient, Freud (118, pp. 21-22) says: "Words and magic were in the beginning one and the same thing and even today words retain much of their magical power. By words one of us can give to another the greatest happiness or bring about utter despair; by words the teacher imparts his knowledge to the student; by words the orator sweeps his audience with him and determines its judgement and decisions. Words call forth emo-

tions and are universally the means by which we influence our fellow creatures."

It is through the medium of conversation that we ask for and give information, advice, guidance, suggestion etc. It is by means of conversation that we persuade the person to express his emotions, sentiments, value system, hopes, fears, doubts, anxiety and suspicion. In short, we make the person reflect his inner self, his personality through conversation. In the words of Reik (340, p. 268): "Men reveal themselves—all their emotional secrets—when they talk freely about themselves; not just when they talk about their secrets, but about everything concerning themselves. They give away what bothers them, disturbs and torments them, all that occupies their thoughts and arouses their emotions—even when they would be most unwilling to talk directly about these things." That is why all clinical therapies lay so much stress on talking out in words. Conversation is a powerful tool in the repertoire of a psychotherapist to bring about a personality change in the client.

Both the analysts and the non-directivists assist the client to recall and to reconstruct his inhibitions "verbally". The insight is achieved by means which Rogers (353) describes in the words, "If the counsellor adequately recognizes the client's attitudes, helps in the process of clarification of feelings, and promotes free expression, new insight will come of itself and can be recognized by the counsellor as it occurs" (p. 196). "Evidently this type of perception is possible in counselling and therapy when the individual is freed from defensiveness through the process of catharsis. It is only in such a state of emotional release that a reorganization of the perceptual field can take place" (p. 207).

Johnson (204) has alluded to one very common symptom among abnormal patients which was their inability to verbalize their feelings and emotions especially their emotional problems. "They were unable to tell clearly what was the matter" (p. 15), and when the psychiatrist "succeeded in training a patient to verbalize his difficulties clearly and to the point, it was usually possible to release him. The patient was usually able to take

care of himself" (p. 16). Johnson consequently points out the inability of the maladjusted person to formulate precise questions and to specify the answers he needs: "What the maladjusted person cannot do—and what he must learn to do—is to specify the sort of answer he needs. This is a way of saying that he has a conspicuous lack of ability to ask questions in such a way as to obtain answers that would be relaxing, or satisfying or adjustive. As soon as he develops such ability, he can... take care of himself for all practical purposes" (p. 17).

Conversation is a means to assist the client to verbalize his feelings, emotions and perceptual reactions. It is in conversation where the counsellor enters into partnership with the client that language as a tool or a technique can be used by the counsellor. It is thus a tool that calls for precision in the hands of the counsellor and a tool to be developed by the client for his future communication with the interacting persons.

relationship in counselling

The counsellor-client relationship is another tool by means of which a psychotherapist assists the client to verbalize his emotions and to bring about a catharsis of feeling and reconstruction of the perceptual field. The safety of the relationship with the counsellor, a complete absence of threat which permits an honesty even in the expression of inconsistency, appears to make the verbal exploration very much different from ordinary conversation. It is reported by Rogers (353, p. 74) that one of his clients explained that she had talked over her problems with her friends, yet in actuality she had not done so. "I was really saying the thing next to the thing that was bothering me." In conversation with a friend, teacher, or an acquaintance, an individual exercises what Freud, as reported by Reik (340, p. 256) calls "owning a discretion to one self". There are things one will not own up to oneself much less to a friend or teacher. This sense of the counselling relationship in which one can talk directly about concerns as they are felt, appears to be a signi-

fificant characteristic of relationship between the counsellor and the client.

Emphasis on relationship in therapy gave rise to a new concept in psychotherapy called "Relationship therapy", based upon the Rankian (336) concepts of personality. Relationship therapy was described quite succinctly by Dr. Jessie Taft (427, p. 288) in the words: "Relationship therapy is nothing but an opportunity to experience more completely than is ordinarily possible, the direction, depth and ambivalence of the impulses which relate the self to the other, to outer reality, and to discover at first hand the possibility of their organization into an autonomous creative will."

The relationship between the counsellor and the client which gives counselling conversation (dialogue) its unique characteristic, is determined like other aspects of therapy by its orientation. While all the schools of psychotherapy functionally work towards assisting the client to regain an effectively functioning personality, different disciplines have different theoretical formulations to explain the function of relationship in the counselling process.

Several writers have attempted to describe the counselling relationship. Rogers (353) has described the relationship as being "permissive", "non-threatening", "nonjudgmental", "friendly", "warm", and "accepting" etc. Freud (118) describes the relationship in terms of "transference", Pepinsky (325) describes the counselling relationship as "anxiety-reducing", and is meant to refer to that interaction which (a) occurs between two individuals called "counsellor" and "client", (b) takes place between a professional setting, and (c) is initiated and maintained as a means of facilitating changes in the behaviour of the client. Thus Pepinsky makes these distinctions in terms of three specifications; (1) whom the interaction involves, (2) where it occurs, and (3) what its function is.

The counselling relationship develops from the interaction between two individuals, one trained professional worker, and the other, a person who seeks his professional services. This

action may be initiated either by the client, or by some third person, or a referring agency. The interaction will be maintained, however, only on a co-operative basis, both counsellor and client collaborating under certain conditions, to perform a particular and mutually acknowledged function of their interaction. In other words, to speak of the counselling relationship is to say that two persons, and no more than two, stand in this relationship and in this relationship only, to each other.

The counselling relationship so narrowly defined excludes all other relationships whether between teacher and student, between friends or between relations. It also excludes all kinds of therapies in which the counsellor is to interact with a group of clients. Teachers and class-room situations cannot be considered within the purview of counselling thus defined. It does not mean that such interactions may not be incidentally therapeutic or of relevance to an understanding of the client's behaviour during counselling. Nevertheless, relationships between friends or family members are postulated to be different from counselling relationships, and the difference is implicit in the conditions under which the counselling interaction occurs.

Black (28) stresses the universality of the relationship in all kinds of therapy whether analytical or non-directive. He alludes to the "common factors" of the patient-therapist relationship, in diverse therapies. He, therefore, urges that more effort should be invested in the study of the postulated "universal elements" of relationship such as these: (a) rapport, (b) acceptance of the patient, (c) support, (d) the status factor, and (e) controls of limit. He believes that...

Our lack of progress in understanding the process of therapy and in developing a systematic methodology may lie partly in our preoccupation with specific techniques and "schools" to the neglect of what may account for the most significant share of behaviour changes produced by psychotherapy—the interpersonal relationship itself. Caution is recommended in attributing to particular methods

cures which may be explicable in terms of the salutary effects of the relationship with the therapist *per se* (p. 306).

A valuable co-ordinate pair of researches which throw light on the universal elements of relationship was carried out by Fiedler (106,107) to test the hypothesis that there will be more agreement between experienced therapists regardless of their theoretical orientation than between the experienced therapists and the novice within the same school of thought about an ideal relationship between the counsellor and the client. This was based upon the assumption that the relationship is an important element in facilitating therapy and consequently all therapists are endeavouring to create what they regard as ideal relationship. The technique used was the "Q" sort technique developed by Stephenson (405).

What are the characteristics of this ideal relationship? When all the ratings were pooled, here are the items placed in the two top categories.

Most characteristic: The therapist is able to participate completely in the patient's communication.

Very characteristic: The therapist's comments are always right in line with what the therapist is trying to convey.

The therapist sees the patient as a co-worker on a common problem.

The therapist treats the patient as an equal.

The therapist is well able to understand the patient's feelings. The therapist really rises to understand the patient's feelings. The therapist always follows the patient's line of thought. The therapist's tone of voice conveys his complete ability to share the patient's feelings.

These researches amply demonstrate the importance of empathy and complete understanding on the part of the therapist, in his relationship with the client.

The second major aspect of these twin researches by Fiedler concerns the measurement of the type of relationship which actually is achieved by different therapists and the degree to which the actual is similar to the ideal. In this study four

judges listened to ten electrically recorded interviews, and for each interview sorted out the seventy-five descriptive statements to indicate the extent to which they were characteristic of that particular interview. Of the ten interviews four were conducted by experienced therapists, and the other half by non-experts.

The findings based on the various correlations were as follows:

1. Experts created relationships significantly closer to the "ideal" than non-experts.
2. Similarity between experts of different orientations was as great as, or greater than the similarity between experts and non-experts of the same orientation.
3. The most important factors differentiating experts from non-experts are related to the therapist's ability to understand, to communicate with, and to maintain rapport with the client. There is some indication that the expert is better able to maintain an appropriate emotional distance, seemingly best described as interested but emotionally uninvolved.
4. The most clearly apparent difference between schools related to the status which the therapist assumes towards the client. The Adlerian and some of the analytic therapists place themselves in a more tutorial, authoritarian role; client-centred therapists show up at the opposite extreme of this factor.

limits in counselling

The limits in counselling can be viewed in their several different but interrelated contexts of (i) with what kind of clients does counselling succeed most, (ii) in which conditions does counselling give the best results, and (iii) what should be the duration of the counselling session and of therapy? The question of limits has remained a vaguely formulated problem and hence inadequately answered. However, the available plethora

of research and opinions can be considered in this context to have an understanding of the problem of limits on counselling.

The limits can be placed in two groups: the limitations which are imposed on therapy by the nature of the suffering of the patient, and the other concerning the limitations imposed by circumstances. Paranoia and dementia precox, when fully developed, are not amenable to analysis. Among the unpropitious external conditions are included family interference in the process of therapy or interference by persons who have their own axe to grind by keeping the patient uncured. An indulgent mother, or a selfish servant or manager would hardly feel happy at seeing the child or the heir-apparent becoming emotionally independent or healthy. Family members would see to it that therapy fails so that the dependence needs of the patient can be utilized to their personal aggrandisement. "In psycho-analytic treatment the intervention of the relatives is a positive danger and, moreover, one which we do not know how to deal with" (118, p. 467).

Experience led Freud (118, p. 469) to make "it a rule never to take for treatment anyone who was not *sui juris*, independent of others in all the essential relations of life." He, however, warns against the tendency of taking the patient out of the family circle in the interest of analysis, and restrict this therapy to those living in private institutions. "It is far more advantageous for the patients—those who are not in a condition of severe prostration, at least to remain during the treatment in those circumstances in which they have to struggle with the demands that their ordinary life makes on them." He also adds that "the relatives ought not to counteract this advantage by their behaviour, and above all should not expose their hostility to one's professional efforts". Another factor which influences the outcome of therapy is "the social atmosphere and degree of cultivation of the patient's immediate surroundings".

Freud's stress on the independence of the patient being favourable for therapy did not find confirmation in researches in the field of client-centred therapy. Rogers (353) found that it made little difference in therapy whether the client was *sui*

juris or not. The age factor was also found as having no relevance for prospects in therapy. The only helpful discovery he made was that there "is less likelihood of deep personal re-organization in the older individual" (p. 229). The greatest gain was observed to have been made in the case of "intra-punitive males"; "they made a better use of the experience of client-centred therapy than others" (p. 226).

More research data are now added in the field of client-centred therapy which throw fresh light on those personality factors which are associated with the facilitation or lack of movement in therapy (354). The data suggest that those who are poorly adjusted, conscious of a high degree of internal tension, intra-punitive in their personality characteristics and moderately acceptant of others in their attitudes are likely to make a constructive change in therapy. Conversely, there is some evidence that those who are better adjusted, who are aware of less internal tension, who are ethnocentric in their attitudes, and extra-punitive in their personality characteristics are more likely to drop out of therapy, or if they remain, are less likely to profit from it. Also, in the judgment of the counsellors, whose ratings have proved to have validity in other respects, a relationship of mutual liking and respect is associated with favourable outcome. On the negative side, there is nothing in the data to indicate that the initial diagnosis status of the individual has any marked relationship to the therapeutic outcome.

In this age of specialization, a certain degree of specialization has affected every branch of human pursuit which imposes a certain limitation on it. Counselling is no exception to it either. Although all kinds of therapy are meant to assist the counselee in solving his own problems and leading an emotionally mature life, certain agencies come to be known for effecting one kind of counselling or another. Child guidance clinics take on their list boys and girls of a certain age and render psychological and psychiatric help; educational and vocational guidance clinics deal with educational, vocational and leisure-time problems of adolescents; personality counselling clinics deal with emotional

problems whether they affect the behaviour, educational or vocational progress or efficiency of young men and women; and marital counselling agencies have relevance for problems of married persons. Employment bureaux handle employment problems of the unemployed or the underemployed and act as a liaison between the employer and the employee.

The functions of most of these agencies overlap and yet from the point of view of efficiency and facilities, counsellors would refer the person seeking help to an agency appropriate for his purpose. Even the very speciality of the agency will attract clients who need that speciality. There are employment bureaux set up by the central government in all the major cities and universities of India. Child guidance clinics are generally attached to hospitals. Educational and vocational bureaux have been set up by private educational trusts, and are also attached to the psychology department of the university. The counsellor will acquaint himself with the available psychological agencies so that he may render adequate help to the client. Some schools on their own have appointed psychologists, who are doing valuable work in terms of student problems. School psychologists will do better if they equip themselves with the information of available facilities around their places of location, so that they can make referrals to appropriate agencies, which are doing psychological and psychiatric work.

The limitations imposed by the agency on the nature of counselling, are termed "structural" limitations by Aptekar (10). Structural limitations are not to be understood in terms of inflexible policies and procedures, or in terms of the attitude "take-it or-leave-it" basis. They are to be used in a dynamic sense of the functional utility of the agency. The counsellor, in an interview session, might feel the need of referring the client to a person or an organization which can be of greater assistance to the client than the counsellor himself. A remark such as, "Our agency does not have the pre-requisite for helping persons having problems like yours. Would you like me to refer you to Mr. X, who can be of assistance to you... (pause). Or maybe you would like to call on him yourself. I can give

you his address. You can telephone him and make an appointment with him". A straightforward suggestion to the client or to the guardian if the client is a minor, to the effect that the counsellor's agency is not equipped to deal with a certain type of problems may be treated as a rejection, which may build up hostility in the mind of the subject against counsellors or counselling. Similarly a direct command to make an appointment with Mr. X before going to meet him might make the client feel that Mr. X must be a very important practitioner. This may have two opposite effects: it may either touch off anxiety in the client or make him feel unnecessarily hopeful about the outcome of therapy. An experienced counsellor will make a therapeutic use of structural limitations.

Other types of limitations which may be termed interactional or interpersonal limitations originate either from the client or the counsellor or both. They can be temperamental and may have to do with the inability of the client to make use of the assistance, and of the counsellor to give it. In the case of clients who are unable to benefit by counselling or who cannot be handled effectively by the counsellor on account of the lack of professional training, experience or temperamental limitations, the counsellor should be honest to admit to himself his own inability and suggest to the client to refer to another individual in his speciality or agency doing that kind of work. To the extent to which the counsellor is able to face his own motives, hostile reactions and professional incompetence and accept them, to that extent he would be emotionally free to be effective in his profession.

Another kind of limit that operates in counselling is in terms of the duration of the counselling interview. No hard and fast rules can be suggested for how long and how often the counsellor and client should meet. If the client needs help he may have two two-hour counselling sessions, otherwise one hour per meeting a week should be sufficient. The counsellor should adhere to the appointment and the fixed duration of the session. If the client happens to be late, he may stay on for the remain-

ing time, although the counsellor should politely point out that relaxation of the time-limit will not be possible.

Whether the client should be allowed to overstay cannot be answered by "Yes", or "No". It will do little harm if the client is allowed to overstay for another five minutes, but the trouble is that relaxation given once may not be an easy thing to control. It will be helpful if the counsellor informs the client politely that the time is up; however, he may take another five minutes to complete what he wants to say. Such a course is necessary because it is not the counselling hour in which therapy takes place. Prolonging the hour will not bring about better results. Much of self-questioning and thinking goes into the mind of the client when he is not in session with the counsellor, who is to act as a catalytic agent. Nevertheless, the counsellor if necessary, will terminate the interview by saying that the time is over and that he will see the client on Thursday next. This will make the client feel that the counsellor did not mean to reject him and that he could look forward to another cordial meeting.

The staunch exponent of time-limits in counselling was Jessie Taft (427), who considered it one of the most valuable tools ever introduced into therapy. She, however, warned that this tool could never be used as a "mechanical salvation" to be employed as a resort of the desperately incompetent or inexperienced therapist. Time-limited or deliberately brief therapy is being employed more and more in various clinical settings, and it has now the support of experimental research (385). Patients treated by time-limited client-centred therapy and time-limited Adlerian therapy, both showed considerable gains over control groups and equal gains when compared with the unlimited group in terms of the self-ideal correlation using an 80-item modified Butler-Haig Q sort test. The time-limited therapy was found not only effective, but also twice as efficient.

Discussing the value of limitations in Play Therapy, Axline (11) states that the therapist establishes only those limitations of time and action that are necessary to anchor therapy to the world of reality and to make the child aware of his responsi-

bility in the relationship. The limitations which are established are mostly confined to play of one-hour duration, and the safety of the material objects, in the sense that the child is made aware that he is not permitted to indulge in wilful destruction of the play material, damaging the room, and attacking the therapist. Also, commonsense limitations which are necessary for the protection of the child should be included. To allow a child hanging out of the window or playing with dangerous articles will scarcely enhance the therapeutic effects of counselling.

Sex is another factor which determines the reactions of the client towards the counsellor and vice versa in an interview (353, 354). While it is found that the sex of the counsellor is immaterial to children in play therapy, it has a profound influence in the case of some of the adult clients. Counsellors and clients of the same sex in certain cases react to each other differently than what they do when they are of different sexes. It is an area which calls for further research to determine whether the identical sex or opposite sex facilitates the process of therapy and relationship and in what kind of clients it is different, and why? There are instances in which male clients are not able to build rapport with men counsellors and women clients with female counsellors. There are also cases in which the contrary happened, as in the case of a local school situation adolescent boys were found reacting shyly and sometimes aggressively and would often avoid meeting the female therapist. When the lady counsellor was replaced by a male counsellor there was reduction in the number of complaints.

Another field of research is the married status of the therapist, whether a married or an unmarried counsellor can establish a more accepting, permissive and friendly relationship with the client. In either case the counsellor is to have what Reik (340) calls "moral courage". The counsellor should be prepared to face up to all kinds of reactions from the client, whether these reactions pertain to sex, morals or even the therapist himself without approval, disapproval or passing a judgment.

The desire on the part of the counsellor to help every

client who calls on him irrespective of the temperamental, emotional, professional and circumstantial resources available at the disposal of the counsellor is rather pathological. The counsellor is well advised to review his attitudes towards himself, his profession, and the client. This warning is timely because in India there are psychologists who should operate as psychometrists functioning as clinical psychologists and in certain cases as psychiatrists or psychoanalysts. The disastrous results which have come about in greater disorganization in the personality of the individuals so treated, are disheartening. A counsellor, unless he has been trained to work as a clinician, should avoid the use of projective techniques; unless trained as a therapist he should avoid practising therapy, and unless he has qualified as a psychiatrist he should avoid prescribing medication. Unless the counsellor is trained, qualified and experienced to assist the client he should avoid doing anything which might upset the present adjustment of the client. I know a young man who came to see me with the complaint that he had perfect adjustment when he joined as a clerk until he started working with a lady school psychologist. She experimented on him her psychoanalytic skills and medication and ultimately left for a foreign country. The gentleman was perfectly disorganized and kept lounging around in the office building, seeking sympathy by repeating his tales of woe and the infidelity of the psychologist, and wanted to join her in the foreign country, until he was rehabilitated.

Counselling in schools, colleges, educational and vocational bureaux and employment exchanges must restrict itself with problems of maladjustment which may or may not be accompanied with mild psychoneurosis. The best chances of success are with clients who exhibit clear signs of anxiety. Cases of acute and chronic psychological disorders or disorders of organic origins must be referred to psychiatrists with the willing consent of the subject. Imposition of diagnosis or judgment on the client is likely to create in the mind of the client an unnecessary fear, or hostility for the counsellor. The counsellor in such cases should politely express his inability to handle the

client's problem and request whether he would like to be referred to another person in his speciality who might be of assistance to him.

Speaking of applicability, both psychoanalytical and client-centred therapies have been used with children and with adults, with mild adjustment problems and the most severe disorders of psychotics with varying degrees of success. However, there are differing claims regarding the effects of the abrupt termination of therapy. When analysis is clumsily handled or is broken off suddenly there are possibilities of transitory manifestation of an exacerbation of the conflict. Neither of these therapies can cure every psychological condition. With some types of individuals hospital care may be necessary, or with others some type of drug therapy may be necessary, and a variety of medical aids may be utilized in psychosomatic conditions. Drug therapy may be indicated in hyperkinetic emotionally disturbed children, in nervous conditions during childhood, and for emotional and behaviour disorders in the aging. Surgical intervention may also become necessary in acute cases of neurotic suffering. In recent years quite a few new drugs especially Chlorpromazine and Meprobates have been used with acute cases of emotionally disturbed persons of all ages with very satisfactory results (326).

attitudes in counselling

Another important tool of psychotherapy is the counsellor's attitude which is brought to bear in relationship to the client. The attitude is determined by the school of thought the counsellor belongs to. There are three main attitudes which counsellors display in their relationship with the client. These three attitudes are: external, internal and eclectic.

In a counselling interview, the counsellor can adopt one of these three attitudes depending on the professional orientation and philosophical values of the counsellor. The counsellor following the directive method may view the problem of the client from an external frame of reference like a physician. The

non-directive counsellor will do so from the internal frame of reference as if he were participating in the experience of the client as he narrates his problem. The eclectic counsellor will assume different attitudes at different times according to the needs of the client. He may start with a permissive attitude, change over to an authoritarian attitude and may end the interview with a passive or a permissive attitude.

The terms external, internal and eclectic, therefore, do not refer to the attitude of the client but to that of the counsellor in relation to the client. In other words, the external frame of reference is not the frame of mind of the client but the frame of mind of the counsellor which is external to the frame of mind of the client. Thus as the client talks of his own problems as they appear to him and about his feelings of himself, his own evaluations of his own goals etc., the counsellor with an external frame of mind will arrange the material heard and observed into some type of categorical scheme like "These are his symptoms", "He is this or that type of personality", "There, there is a flaw" etc. The counsellor using the directive approach to counselling may also decide on using the diagnostic tools to arrive at a judgment about the client. After the counsellor has made an appraisal—clinical or diagnostic—he will then advise or inform the counsellee of suitable solutions of his problems, according to his theoretical framework and clinical experience.

The internal frame of reference which distinguishes the non-directive counsellor from the directive-counsellor, is the very frame of mind of the client, and is, therefore, internal to the counsellor. The counsellor tries to get into the skin of the client and attempts to perceive the problem as the client perceives it, feels it as he feels it, in other words, tries to see the world as the client sees it. In so doing the counsellor, to a great degree, shares the client's field of perception, enters into the phenomenological world in which the client is functioning. The counsellor oriented to the internal frame of reference to counselling, does not make an attempt at understanding what the client is trying to communicate but participates with the client in his emotional experience and what it means for him. The coun-

sellor does not react to the words of the client but to the feelings and his reactions to his own experience. The salient feature of non-directive counselling that distinguishes it from directive counselling is its emphasis on non-judgmental counsellor participation in the client's conative processes. It does not diagnose the problem of the client nor does it analyse or classify the client.

The eclectic attitude in counselling shuns rigidity in counselling and accepts both non-directive and directive attitudes as a means of helping the client. In eclectic counselling stress is more on how the client can be helped. It is, therefore, sometimes the directive attitude and sometimes the non-directive attitude that the counsellor gradually assumes. Eclectic approach to counselling is more handy for a practitioner counsellor, because rigidity in the counselling attitude which has as its primary aim helping the client, is to be avoided. Sometimes it is direct information, advice or testing that can help the client and sometimes it is non-directive counselling which may be required to assist him. The counsellor will, therefore, vary his attitude depending on the nature of the problem, the maturity of the client and the nature of the counsellor's professional responsibility.

counselling interview

In a counselling interview the counsellor is to begin with the client who is the primary focus of his attention. Some counsellors focus their attention on the problem which in their opinion will determine the kind of help that is to be rendered to the client. In either case the purpose of the counselling interview is to set the stage for client-counsellor interaction. Pepinsky (325), however, suggests that even when the counselling interview is a tool of bringing about a therapeutic change in the client, it also should be used as a means of collecting information about the client so that the counsellor is able to develop his own hypotheses for further research in therapy.

In counselling the interview can be structured by pointing out to the client what he should and what he should not expect

from therapy; how long it will last; how many interviews will be held; and how many times a week the client can hope to meet the counsellor. While this kind of structuring is to impress upon the client the urgency of speaking out his mind and getting well quick without entertaining false hopes, it has the danger of putting the client on his guard. Structuring may undermine the very purpose for which counselling service is being rendered. The client-centred, therefore, stress counsellor's attitude more than the technique of interviewing in counselling.

Individuals coming to counselling differ from one another. These differences they display not only in their behaviour but also in their modes of thinking. Some organize their behaviour around some rituals and others around certain "ideas and notions. They bring to the counsellor not only their problems but also their prejudices about what counselling is and what it can do for them. Their reactions towards the counsellor and counselling is thus coloured by their fears, prejudices and doubts, which in the first place determine their relationship with the counsellor. Whether the counselling will terminate after the first interview or will continue into further sessions will depend on the result of the first contact. The first interview or the initial contact as it is called, therefore, is crucial inasmuch as it will determine the kind of relationship the client will develop with the counsellor. While relationship is necessary to set the counselling process in motion, the interview is the instrument with which it is brought about. The interview is, therefore, said to be the heart of all counselling.

In an interview the first thing the counsellor is to do, is to make the client speak. In order to make the client speak, the psychoanalytically oriented counsellors make the client lie down or sit on a sofa comfortably and "free associate". The client is forced to yield all the secrets of his mind, speak without reservation and let his ideas, feelings, thoughts, emotions, and impressions flow out without let or hindrance. Non-psychanalytically oriented or non-directive counsellors, however, do not use such persuasive or authoritarian methods and instead display an attitude of acceptance so that the client is able to lower

his defences and is able to face himself as he is and not as he wants others see him. In either therapies counsellors use the first interview for establishing rapport with the client so that he should be able to communicate with the counsellor effectively and come to attend subsequent sessions if required.

Rapport or a warm and friendly relationship is, therefore, a must in a counselling interview. Rapport can be created best when the counsellor has received the client warmly and has made him feel accepted. This can be done in several ways. The client will feel wanted if he is received by a receptionist, is made to wait in a reception room, then ushered into the counsellor's chamber when his turn comes. Clients generally do not appreciate being made to wait if they are there by appointment. A reception room properly furnished and generously supplied with magazines will make the client feel at home. In a school situation this may not be possible and yet the counsellor should be provided with a separate room properly furnished. The counsellor should give an impression of a leisurely disposition, and should be unhampered with paper work, intruding visitors and telephone calls. Unless the counsellor makes the client feel that all his time is meant for the client, rapport is difficult to be established.

The client whether he is visiting on his personal initiative, or has been referred by a social agency or a faculty member, does not come to the counsellor with an empty mind. He brings with him fears if referred by a faculty member, hopes if sent by an agency, and perhaps strong resistance if despatched by the parent. It is, therefore, necessary that the referring individual or agency should guide the client to the counsellor in a manner that unnecessary doubts, fears or hopes are not built up in the mind of the client. It is the job of the counsellor to receive the client in a manner that his preconceived notions are not confirmed by the behaviour of the counsellor. Nor is innocence displayed by the counsellor when both the client and the counsellor know that the client is not there on his own. In other words, the approach of the counsellor should be determined by the nature of the referral. If the client has been referred by a

faculty member, it will be helpful for the counsellor to be forthright and start that he was informed by so and so that "you were coming to see me. You are having trouble with your studies or with your class fellows or the faculty members." If the client is showing signs of anxiety, the counsellor may as well say, "You are looking anxious as if something is bothering you".

This kind of beginning may reduce the anxiety or the shyness of the client and make him feel that the counsellor knows his case and is willing to help him. This may strike up a conversation between the client and the counsellor. The client may show hostility which the counsellor will accept like any other reaction of the client with some such remark as, "It makes you feel bad when somebody blames you." In this situation the counsellor will not only accept the reaction of the client but will reflect the feelings of the client. It is unnecessary for the counsellor to check up the veracity of the statements of the client. Whether the faculty members, class-fellows or parents are at fault or not is immaterial to the fact that the client feels that they are. Reality for the client is what he perceives is real to him. The hostility towards the counsellor may also spring from the fact that the client might hold that the counsellor resembles his teacher or parent in his perception. This will, therefore, call for a high degree of acceptance of the client on the part of the counsellor. Besides, it will also demand on the part of the counsellor a proper reflection of the underlying perception by creating a warm and understanding atmosphere in the counselling interview.

The client who has come to meet the counsellor on his own may again bring with him very different ideas. He might come to him as he would to a physician, or with little faith in psychotherapy, or with a feeling of guilt that he is to seek psychological help. People still believe that it is only a sissy or a milksop who seeks this kind of help; it is unheroic or cowardly to go and open one's mind to another person. Healing by talking is not yet widely accepted. He may not believe in a psychological cure and might have come with a quasi-serious attitude, "there is no harm in finding out what it is like getting analysed;

let me try this out also." In such a case the first interview will determine the outcome whether the client is going to go back with a hope of cure or confirmed in his doubt that psychotherapy is still not a science. An experienced counsellor will not hold out a false hope of cure. The best he can do is to help the client feel that professional help is available and the cure is possible if he wills it.

The counsellor also brings to his profession several of his own attitudes and conflicts which may blur his own perception of the role. He may begin to seek dependence and emotional satisfaction through the client, or may encourage dependence in the client to further his own motives. The classical school of psychoanalysis, therefore, believes that the analyst should undergo psychoanalysis before he performs the professional job of a therapist. Freud (118), however, recommended a self-analysis by the therapist if he really wanted to understand the unconscious mind of the client. In other words, the therapist should be "self-searching and never self-seeking" (340, p. 257).

The counsellor may not have a genuine feeling for the worth of an individual or belief in his capacity for growth and ability to solve his own problems. The counsellor may be impatient in temperament and poised to catch the client from a wrong verbal cue. While the therapist with an authoritarian attitude may succeed in psychoanalytical discipline which assigns the therapist a superior role, the attitude to act as a father-figure might prove a hindrance in non-directive therapy. Therapy has much better chances of success if the counsellor can build a permissive, non-judgmental, non-threatening and non-authoritarian relationship with the client. It is possible if the counsellor has no desire to change the client in his own image and will accept the individual in his own right.

When the conceivable blocks are removed by the counsellor, the counsellor and the client are considered to be in communication on the emotive and attitudinal dimensions of the dialogue. The counsellor does not react to the semantic context of the verbal report but to the attitudes of fear, doubt, anger, guilt feeling, hostility, frustration, conflict, love, hatred, re-

morse, helplessness, or inability to decide and to act. The counsellor will clarify these emotions and sometimes restate the feelings which underlie the verbal reports of the client as they were being rephrased in a language which the client would want to use but is at a loss to find. The degree of agreement the client will express with the counsellor in the clarification of feelings will indicate the nature of relationship the counsellor has been able to build with the client. Positive feelings are an indication that the client has a positive relationship with the counsellor. Interpretation to a certain extent may also be helpful if done when rapport is established although client-centred therapists do not allow this kind of eclecticism.

Reflection and clarification of thoughts and feelings in a counselling interview should follow rather than precede rapport. The counsellor is not supposed to lead the conversation or direct it into meaningful ends. In a permissive relationship expression of thoughts and feelings are at their maximum. Psychoanalysts do not object to coercing the patient to yield his resistances and let the repressed material rise up from the unconscious, for their interpretation. Interpretation is considered to hurry the therapy. Client-centred therapists, however, do not believe in leading or guiding the conversation or hurrying the process of counselling. They follow the client and let him lead the way. Their tools are acceptance, reflection, clarification, and restatement.

In the counselling interview the client-centred therapist objectifies, rewards and restates the emotions, attitudes and perceptions of the client giving rise to the conflicts, in such a way as to enable the client to face them. A young man stating his love for a girl of a different caste might be saying several things. First; that such a love relationship will be disapproved by his parents; it will be doubly disapproved because the girl belongs to a different caste. In such a situation the young man is at a loss to take any decision, he can neither accept the girl nor reject her. The counsellor by telling the young man that he should be brave enough to confess his feelings either to the girl or his parents or that he should be modern in his ideas or that

such sentiments do not count now-a-days, is not mentioning anything new. The young man knows that he ought to be brave and modern and oppose the unreasonable expectations of his parents. But he will still want to behave and live up to the concept of a dutiful son. Instead, if the counsellor accepts the client's self-perception, reflects his feelings of helplessness and clarifies his feelings in the words: "You feel it is impossible for you to disclose to your parents that you love this girl. They may disapprove of this relationship and you might find it difficult to continue your relationship with the girl". He will thus enable the client to face his own ambivalence.

The end result of the counsellor-client dialogue is to effect release of pent-up feelings. The client is able to release all his repressed emotions and feelings, such as hostility, love, hatred, fear, doubt against the therapist, who treats them either by interpretation or by acceptance, restatement, and clarification. The client thus freed from obstructed emotions is able to face them realistically as part of himself. He is able to face reality without reacting to it with fear, threat or anxiety and achieves "abreaction" in the course of a therapeutic catharsis (307).

Both the client and the counsellor at length reach the stage when the client is quite ready to accept the responsibility of his own actions, and formulate his own decisions whether these decisions are opposed to what others have ordained for him, or are merely in confirmation of what is decided for him. Yet these are his own decisions. This is the stage of terminating the contact. The termination should be reached only when the client feels that it should occur. His wish that he might come to see the counsellor again should be accepted and reflected as any other feelings including the feeling that the contact should terminate. These two different feelings may be reflected by the counsellor in the words "You feel you do not need my help any more. You are now able to handle your problems independently", or "You feel you might need my help again and would like to come back. If you feel like coming back again, I shall be glad to meet you", or "You are not sure whether you

would be able to handle your problem independently and might need my help again."

counselling techniques

Basically all types of counselling lead to a single purpose of assisting the client to meet difficult life situations adequately and operate more effectively. And yet all types of problem or client do not call for a single technique of counselling. The counsellor, therefore, has to be selective in the type of clients he should help and also about the kind of counselling method he should use. This point will become clear if we consider the type of problems the counsellor is called upon to handle and the type of clients he is to counsel.

A counsellor working for a school or a college has to deal with problems which can be placed in five main categories: (i) problems of adjustment; (ii) problems of skill; (iii) problems of information; (iv) problems of perceptions and attitudes, and (v) problems pertaining to choice of courses and vocations. All these problems may have a common source of origination and can henceforth be dealt with by a single technique of counselling. They may also have separate sources of origination and may call for several techniques of counselling. Not all the students will call for one technique of counselling. Individual differences among students may make the use of a single technique unnecessary. The time at the disposal of the counsellor will be another determining factor in the selection of a technique, whether the counsellor should resort to individual counselling or group counselling. The age of the students will also indicate whether the counsellor should use verbal therapy, play therapy or psychodrama.

Problems of the students may arise from certain obvious reasons and sometimes from purely emotional reasons. More often problems even when they arise from non-emotional sources have either an emotional basis or an emotional overlaying. The counsellor will be well advised to try first non-relational therapy. Sometimes a change of subject, a change of

section, additional coaching in the subject in which the student missed lessons, or emphasis on the right habit of reading or a more rationalized programme of reading at home will assist the student to overcome his adjustment problems. In theory this technique looks good but in actual practice, while it solves the problem the counsellor is handling, it might give rise to new problems. The student is not accepted by the other students in the new section, the new section might have covered more or a different portion of the syllabus, the teachers of the new section may not welcome the student, the office clerk may not appreciate the extra work of transferring the name of the student from one attendance register to another because it means more routine work for him. The problems which may arise on account of the transfer of the student from one section to another, therefore, should make the counsellor beware of not encouraging adjustment by change too often. This should also alert the counsellor to the possibility of his being used as a convenience by the students who for reasons of their own might like to get their section or a teacher changed and thus get into constant trouble.

There may be situations in which a large number of students display behaviour problems. Such situations cannot be controlled either by individual or group therapy for these reasons: First, it is difficult to apprehend the students who indulge in indiscipline, and secondly, aggressive tendencies are to be curbed before they can be brought under the therapeutic process of counselling. This will, therefore, call for the re-organization of the school environment in a way that behaviour therapy can be applied. Once the tone of student behaviour is improved, isolated cases of maladjustment can then be handled by verbal therapy.

Problems of skill and information can also be handled on the basis of cause and effect therapy. Reading disability, bad handwriting, and the method of keeping lessons notes which are problems arising from lack of proper skills can be dealt with by talking it over with the boys. Information regarding technical schools, colleges, and courses of study at different universities can be communicated in a matter-of-fact way by the coun-

sellor. That is also true about information for jobs or occupational opportunities, available for clients of a particular age group and qualifications. Some of the clients might want to know something about their chances of success in the occupation chosen. In such cases, the counsellor may discuss the type of tests the client might want to take or be helpful for him. The counsellor will choose the appropriate tests for the client, administer them and discuss the results with the client in a counselling interview.

The category of problems which arise from emotional needs or have to do with the perceptions and attitudes of the client causing anxiety and suffering will call for psychological handling on the part of the counsellor. Such problems obviously do not arise from lack of skill or information. On the contrary the lack of skill, information or deviant behaviour may have an emotional cause which can be explored by the counselling techniques which may or may not include psychological tests. The selection of a counselling technique or a combination of techniques will be determined by the experience and professional training of the counsellor. The counsellor, however, is to be resourceful enough to shift from one technique to another in order to assist the client.

Among the counselling techniques which have been in prolonged use, two techniques, namely psychoanalysis and client-centred occupy places of honour and prestige. In psychoanalytical technique the counsellor occupies a place of authority and is permitted to advise, to suggest or to reassure the patient. In client-centred technique the counsellor works with and through the client and, therefore, eschews advice, suggestion and assurance. The client-centred technique is based on the following eight principles.

1. The therapist must develop a warm, friendly relationship with the client, in which good rapport is established as soon as possible by means of the initial interview.
2. The therapist accepts the client as he is.
3. The therapist establishes a feeling of permissiveness in the

relationship so that the client feels free to express his feelings completely.

4. The therapist is alert to recognize the feelings the client is expressing and reflects those feelings back to him in such a manner that he gains insight into his behaviour.
5. The therapist maintains a deep respect for the client's ability to solve his own problems if given an opportunity to do so. The responsibility to make choices and to institute change is the client's.
6. The therapist does not attempt to direct the client's actions or conversation in any manner. The client leads the way; the therapist follows.
7. The therapist does not attempt to hurry the therapy along.—It is a gradual process and is recognized as such by the therapist.
8. The therapist establishes only those limitations that are necessary to anchor the therapy to the world of reality and to make the client aware of his responsibility in the relationship. The therapist administers tests which are a kind of capsule reality, when and if requested by the client with the objective of assisting him to clarify his self-concept in terms of an occupation.

The first five principles are common to psychoanalysis also. Rapport or a warm friendly relationship is a necessary condition to all therapies. The recognition of feeling has been termed as "empathy", "psychological observation" or "listening with the third ear" by Reik (340) and "intelligent listening" by Miller (275).

It is not possible, however one might try, to impart the "gift of psychological observation" or to teach "listening with the third ear" through writing. It can, however, be acquired by experience especially by recovering the essential part of the emotion of the client but more so if the counsellor has the moral courage to trust his own instincts, by being himself, by accepting himself as he is and also by accepting the client as he is. The best that can be done for a raw counsellor is to acquaint

him with the main steps in counselling, which he should be able to adjust according to the needs of the client and the situation. The counsellor must remember that comforting, explanation, exhortation, argument, restraint or reprisal have no place in counselling techniques. Reassurance which is treated as one of the valid techniques of therapy (70), as far as possible, should also be avoided. Used carelessly reassurance can do incalculable harm to the client. The same can be said about rational persuasion and suggestion, although these devices have a limited utility and are relatively permitted in psychoanalysis. With this warning, we now proceed with the outlining of the steps in psychoanalysis and client-centred therapy.

steps in psychoanalysis

1. The patient is made to lie down or sit comfortably on a sofa. The therapist seats himself towards the head of the patient or faces him if he is seated. The first contact with the client should be friendly in order to establish a good rapport.
2. The patient is asked to abandon himself to free association. That means that the patient is asked to say anything and everything that comes up in his mind. He is not to be logical in whatever he says. He must speak his mind without let or hindrance. Free association is the basic rule of psychoanalytic technique. It is not as Reik (340, p. 140) points "a heart-to-heart talk but a drive-to-drive talk, an inaudible but highly expressive dialogue."
3. The material thus collected is treated as raw data on which is built the therapist's hypothesis. If sufficient and frank material is not forthcoming, the client may be asked to close his eyes and report whatever images, thoughts, feelings, sensations, remembrances or impulses might spontaneously arise in his mind. Soon the therapist will find that free association is not as free as the name indicates. The client offers resistance sometimes in the form of an excuse that it is all that is coming up in his mind or that he cannot think of anything else. The therapist may then demonstrate how free

association is done and then ask the client to do it. If rapport has been established the client will begin to dig and delve from his past memories the material which will be accepted by the therapist. The entire effort of the therapist should be to remove resistance so that the client is able to bring out the repressed material from the unconscious into the conscious.

4. Sometimes the client will relate the dream that he saw the previous night. The dream material is additional data with which the therapist should work. As far as possible the therapist will reserve interpretation till a warm relationship is established.
5. If everything proceeds well in counselling the client will establish a warm, friendly and confidential relationship with the therapist. This relationship is technically called "positive transference". Sometimes the therapist builds up a hostile relationship which is called "negative transference". Both are to be treated as psychotherapeutic tools. In either relationship the therapist should remain accepting. "The transference is the battlefield where all the contending forces MUST meet" (118, p. 462). This is the therapist's opportunity, he can interpret this relationship the way he will interpret the other material the client brings forth. If the transference relationship is handled patiently, tactfully, objectively and thoroughly, the client will come to see himself as he really is. He will gain insight into his own motives and behaviour. The self-realization thus obtained will result in emotional maturity and control of the symptoms. The client having relived his previous emotional life will be put in a better position to know what he really wants and how he should go about getting it.
6. The last interview is meant to terminate the relationship or the contact the client has established with the therapist. The request for terminating the contact will generally come from the client. The therapist should welcome it and send the client away with the feeling that he can come and see him again in case he feels that the therapist can be of help to him once more.

steps in non-directive counselling

The different steps in non-directive counselling may be mapped out briefly as follows:

1. The individual coming to see the counsellor, means that the client has a problem in which he is seeking the assistance of the counsellor. The client has thus taken a tentative step.
2. The counselling can be structured by telling the client that the counsellor does not have the answers, although he would be glad to render assistance to the client in discovering his own answers. The counselling time is his, if he wants it. The recent trend, however, is against structuring the situation. Instead, the counsellor should receive the client in a warm and friendly manner and ask him how he can help him, and fix the date and time for meeting.
3. By providing a permissive, and non-evaluative attitude the counsellor encourages free expression of feeling in regard to the problem. The counsellor accepts the client as he is and accepts his feelings as they are poured out by the client.
4. The counsellor, however, works as a catalyst by accepting, recognizing and especially by clarifying those feelings. The counsellor rewards and sometime restates the feelings, emotions and perceptions which give rise to those expressions. In this step the counsellor concentrates on the one purpose only of providing deep understanding and acceptance of the attitudes consciously held at this moment by the client as he explores step by step the dangerous areas which he has been denying to consciousness.
5. The client and the counsellor in their co-operative effort now reach a stage when the negative and hostile feelings of the client are replaced by the faint and tentative expression of the positive impulses that make for growth. The direction of feeling is generally from others to self and from place to self. The counsellor accepts positive feelings as he does the negative and hostile impulses of the client. This

is one of the most certain and predictable aspects of the whole counselling process.

6. This results in an understanding of and insight into the self. The client comes to realize that both negative and positive feelings, thoughts, and impulses emerge from his self. He comes to accept both, and by means of this acceptance the client can go ahead to new levels of integration.
7. The client displays new insights, suggests tentative decisions and possible courses of action.
8. The client initiates minute, but highly significant, positive actions. This is a kind of role playing in the counselling situation, an attempt at clarifying his own roles in the world of reality. The client is not urged; he is merely accepted and is still offered a permissive attitude by the counsellor.
9. This leads to further insight, a more complete and full understanding, which signifies a further element of growth and increasingly integrated positive action, and finally,
10. This leads to increased independence, of decreasing need for help. This signals the termination of the counselling contact.

techniques of integrative counselling

The interview in which the counsellor meets the client on the basis of the information collected by means of case history and testing may be termed as "integrative" interview, because in this co-operative effort two persons are engaged in exploring which would be the best course to follow and the client leaves the counsellor with a plan of action for which he holds himself responsible. The integration of test results with counselling can be brought about by one of the three main methods which have the support of the current theories.

The first point of view gives support to prescriptive counselling:

"The effective counsellor is one who induces the student to utilize his assets in ways which will yield success and satisfac-

tion... Ordinarily the counsellor states his point of view with definiteness, attempting through exposition to enlighten the student. In respect to no student's problem does the counsellor appear indecisive to the extent of permitting loss of confidence in the validity of his information... If it is true that the counsellor should not make the student's decision, it is equally true that someone must render this very service until some students are able, intellectually and emotionally, to think for themselves". (593, pp. 228-234).

The writers geared to the point of view of prescriptive counselling are reluctant to accept that every individual is capable of taking wise decisions, or for that reason is capable of taking an independent action. They are also reluctant to admit that persons are so irrational that given "objective facts" they should be unable to take rational decisions, or be incapable of accepting guidance as it emerges from objective facts. On the contrary their contention is that advice and direction given on the basis of the test results would be readily acceptable to the client, and thus would make short shrift of the vagaries of human nature, especially when the client is not mature enough to take an independent decision and hold himself responsible for its consequences.

The second point of view goes counter to the concept of the immaturity of the client, because he comes to seek the help of the counsellor. This point of view stresses that tests which have been designed to help the subject to act wisely are of secondary importance, because in decision-making, feelings and emotions are of primary importance. All problems, at least most of them, for which a client seeks the help of the counsellor do not originate from the lack of understanding or wisdom on the part of the client, but have their roots deep in the emotional life of the person. All problems whether educational, vocational, familial, marital, intrapersonal or interpersonal are basically emotional, and cannot be solved by the client on the basis of the understanding gained through test information.

"We have come to recognize that if we can provide

understanding of the way the client seems to himself at this moment, he can do the rest. The therapist must lay aside his preoccupation with diagnosis and his diagnostic shrewdness, must discard his tendency to make professional evaluations, must cease his endeavours to formulate an accurate prognosis, must give up the temptation subtly to guide the individual, and must concentrate on one purpose only; that of providing deep understanding and acceptance of the attitudes consciously held at this moment by the client as he explores step by step the dangerous areas which he has been denying to consciousness" (353, p. 30).

This point of view still holds good in psychotherapy (351). Rogers (352), however, has veered away from this extreme position to a more moderate stand, in the field of vocational guidance. He admits the use of the psychometrics in vocational counselling, but recommends that the locus of responsibility of whether the tests should be used or not and which of the tests should be used must rest with the client. In other words, in non-directive counselling, tests enter only when the client asks for them. They are not used as a means of diagnosing or evaluating the client but as a mirror in which he can see the reflection of his own characteristics leading to self-acceptance (313). A request for a certain type of test will bring out into the open the nature of the conflict which the client has been undergoing but is afraid to express. His conflict might have arisen in what others think of his intellectual level, while he himself has an over-estimation of it. The demand for an intelligence test might have, therefore, originated in his conflict on account of the discrepancy between self-evaluation and others' evaluation of him rather than in his educational or vocational needs. Hence, when the client is entrusted with the responsibility of selecting the tests which he regards as appropriate for himself, it is not counter to client-centred counselling.

The belief long held by vocational counsellors that all a person needs to know are his strong and weak points, and if that

knowledge is made available to him on the basis of test results, it will make him a happy worker and a more useful citizen, has been assailed by the client-centred therapists. No longer do we now hold the view that the understanding a client develops by means of tests is enough to enable him to take his decision. Test results may give a transitory advantage or a temporary solution of the problem, but unless the deep roots of conflict which originate in the emotional life of the individual are handled psychotherapeutically, can the person be enabled to make an independent decision and a permanent solution.

This has led Super (423) to emphasize the need for a synthesis in the two viewpoints of counselling, namely directive and non-directive. He recommends the third point of view, a cyclical counselling in educational and vocational problems. Tyler (568) has further reinforced this point of view when she stresses that the counsellor necessarily is not tied to a single frame of reference but can shift from direct to indirect and vice versa, in counselling, depending on the need of the client and the nature of the problem, as long as both the client and the counsellor are co-operatively engaged in the task of decision-making.

Thus vocational counselling often proceeds best if it is handled non-directively at first, often for several interviews, shifting occasionally to directive handling when the counsellor must help with reality testing, and back to non-directive methods again when reactions to reality are being explored.

Schematically, integrative counselling can be described as involving the following cycle:

1. Non-directive problem exploration and self-concept portrayal.
2. Directive topic setting, for further exploration.
3. Non-directive reflection and clarification of feeling for self-acceptance and insight.
4. Directive exploration of factual data from tests, occupational pamphlets, extracurricular experiences, grades etc., for reality testing.

5. Non-directive exploration and working through of attitudes and feelings aroused by reality testing.
6. Non-directive consideration of possible lines of action, for help in decision-making.

Whether it is "analytic", "client-centred" or integrative counselling the phases or steps outlined necessarily do not follow the sequence in which they are outlined. All this can happen in a single interview or take several interviews to complete the course of therapy. Hence these steps are neither serially nor mutually exclusive. It will all depend upon the counsellor's understanding, insight and experience how he manipulates the counselling process in order to assist the client to attain a position of emotional maturity and actional independence.

summary and conclusions

The counselling tools and techniques can be studied in their five main areas of operation namely, conversation, relationship, limits on the nature and time of counselling, attitudes and sex of the counsellor, and finally the interview in which the therapeutic relationship between the client and the counsellor develops. In spite of a clear exposition of the use of the tools and techniques, the assistance rendered to the raw counsellor will be inadequate, because the ultimate success in therapy will attend on the professional training, personal experience and the philosophy of life the counsellor holds at the time. Further limits will be imposed by the agency for which the counsellor is engaged to work, and the type of clients and problems he will handle.

The interaction between the counsellor and the client, which may or may not involve the use of the diagnostic techniques, is called the interview. Whether there will be only one interview or several will depend on how the relationship between the counsellor and the client, and the process of therapy have developed. In either case the first interview or the "initial

contact" and the last interview or the "terminal contact", are of great importance in counselling. On how the counsellor receives the client in the first interview will depend whether there will be more interviews; and on how the counsellor will terminate the contact will depend the outcome of therapy. As in the first interview the client feels the need for meeting the counsellor, similarly the need for terminating the contact should also come from the client. The locus of responsibility for initiating, unless it is a case of referral, and terminating the contact will thus rest on the client. The interview, therefore, is not a situation but a tool which the counsellor should learn to use to initiate further action on the part of the client.

If the counsellor has been able to establish a rapport with the client by means of the first interview, he will be able to use his empathic understanding as well as other tools of counselling to bring about a therapeutic change in the behaviour of the client in subsequent contacts. The sequence in which counsellor-client relationship will develop and therapy take place, depends ultimately on the way the counsellor is able to manipulate the interview.

Counselling

counselling defined

Whenever an individual finds himself in trouble he feels the urge to discuss his problems with his family members, relations or friends and also tends to seek advice from his seniors who in his opinion are more matured and experienced. In everyday life counselling is tendered in the form of advice by father to son in choosing clothes, friends, hobbies and careers; by teacher to student in choosing books, studying methods and improving examination skills. In other words, there is no limit to problems on which counselling can be offered and of the type of persons who can render this help. It can be rendered in any place, in any form by any one; it can be offered to an individual or to groups. In its broadest sense counselling, therefore, "may be thought of as an endeavour to help boys and girls make the educational, personal, and social adjustments within the school community that will best prepare them to effect desirable vocational, personal and social adjustments when they become a more definitive part of the larger community, in order that they may lead happy and useful lives and may contribute to the happiness and help to meet the needs of others" (587, p. 40).

Counselling in its present form, is of recent development and is the product of the present century. Although at present it is not a profession, it is in the process of becoming one. Its demand in every walk of life is on the increase. Colleges and high schools, industries and churches are becoming more and more interested in its potentiality for improving interpersonal relationships. Programmes of training in counselling have been

growing in number, scope, intensity and perhaps in effectiveness. Educators, ministers, religious workers, social workers, sociologists and social psychologists, industrial workers and employers are becoming more and more aware of the release of the creative forces in man and the change in group dynamics brought about by counselling.

The earliest definition we have of modern counselling is by Parsons (317). In his three-legged formulation for guidance, Parsons defined counselling as "true reasoning, or expert advice, or the advice of men who have made a careful study of men and vocations and of the condition of success". The introduction of the testing movement in vocational guidance lent this point of view tremendous force (37).

Around this concept of counselling as expert advice or advice from wise men has grown a powerful school of thought which equates counselling with information-giving, advising or directing and hence Direct Counselling (206, 221, 320, 416). The Indian mode of thought has also followed this trend in counselling (44, 45, 328). In the opinion of this school of thought the person seeking guidance is seeking advice and information which if objectively offered will be integrated by the individual in his self-frame of reference as he does class instruction, often something after the question-answer method used by Socrates. The method consists in giving information or advice whichever is helpful.

In the words of Williamson (592, p. 4), "counselling is one of several fundamental techniques of assisting the individual not only to achieve immediate personal adjustments, but also to prepare for remote and adult adjustments." Counselling, as defined by Ruth Strang (407), is an individual process which helps the individual to understand himself accurately for a better adjustment in life. Aptekar (10, p. 110) considers counselling "a kind of personal help directed towards the solution of a problem which a person finds he cannot solve himself. Counselling, therefore, may be thought of as casework without concrete service. In counselling one is geared to problems and not to service."

Differentiating vocational counselling from other types of counselling, Super (420, p. 2) states that vocational counselling "is the process of helping the individual to ascertain, accept, understand and apply the relevant facts about himself to the pertinent facts about the occupational world which are ascertained through incidental and planned exploratory activities." It also includes psychological appraisal in order to help the individual make a self-discovery leading to personal maturity of taking an independent decision. In other words, if "vocational guidance is helping Johnny to see through himself and to see him through" (293, p. 4), then counselling is the means of helping Johnny do it.

Counselling is the core and is at the centre of all guidance programmes. In fact counselling gives substance and meaning to guidance practices and procedures. "Irrespective of who counsels the students, counselling is the most intimate and vital part of the entire guidance programme in a school" (206, p. 287). Mohsin (280, pp. 21-27) recently remarked that "counselling is the core of the full-fledged guidance programme and the real test of a worker's high level of competency... We have yet to build up a tradition in modern counselling."

counselling and psychotherapy

Contrasted to counselling, there is another specificity called psychological counselling or psychotherapy. Bordin (29, p. 9) differentiates psychological counselling from all other types of counselling in these words: "Counselling in a broad sense is directly concerned with finding a solution to an immediate situation. For instance, someone has to take a decision of some importance and counselling helps him to do so; a person is struggling with difficulties and feels discouraged and counselling gives him courage and fresh vigour. Psychological counselling, on the other hand, is directly concerned with personality development. It aims at understanding the obstacles that prevent further personality growth-processes in the client and at removing them in order to activate personality development."

Throwing light on the concept of psychotherapy, Williamson (593, p. 7) states that psychotherapy is a kind of counselling which "consists of various techniques and methods of assisting the individual to gain understanding, insight and valuational acceptance of his conflicting self-evaluations, in an attempt to regain integration of self." In the words of Rogers (353, p. 40), "Psychotherapy deals primarily with the organization and functioning of the self." Aptekar (10, p. 110) points out that "specificity which is to be found in counselling does not characterize psychotherapy, which has always been thought of as being more general in character. Originally a form of treatment for certain types of mental illness, psychotherapy has been extended so that it is not limited today to the mentally ill. When we refer to psychotherapy, however, we generally imply profound personality change.... Psychotherapy in other words is focused on personality change." Counselling on the other hand, in the opinion of Aptekar, focuses on a type of problem.

A study of the literature on counselling (206, 593) and on psychotherapy (32, 121, 351) leads one to the inevitable conclusion that the difference between these two specificities is quantitative rather than qualitative. Counselling is geared to solving the problem of the individual by means of advice, information, question and answer method; psychotherapy focuses on developing understanding, insight and self-acceptance by means of psychological methods including psychoanalytic techniques. Both have the common aim of assisting the counsellee to solve his own problems and take decisions, and both, therefore, involve a personality change. The personality change may be quantitatively different in counselling than in psychotherapy. The difference between different kinds of counselling again may be quantitative rather than qualitative.

In her attempt to clear away some of the cobwebs that have grown around the concept of counselling, Tyler (568, pp. 14-17) has made some useful generalizations which do away with the qualitative differences made by some authors between counselling and psychotherapy and also between different kinds of counselling. She says: first, counselling is more than advice-

giving or information-giving. In other words counselling is not advisement, nor is it to develop insight or understanding by means of information-giving or the question and answer method. Even situations in which advice is tendered, the solution of the problem found is not the direct consequence of the advice given. The client is never the same after counselling. Perhaps the insight which the individual acquires into his problem leading to a solution may have come about on account of the relationship between the person seeking advice and his adviser.

Secondly, counselling involves something more than the solution to an immediate problem. Its function is to produce changes in the individual that will enable him to make wise future decisions as well as to extricate himself from his immediate difficulties. In all counselling situations the focus of the counsellor's attention and technique is the client, who experiences and is to solve his own problem. The solution of the problem depends on the degree of change in the personality of the client. The degree of change will also be reflected in the manner in which the client will take decisions in future. A person making an educational, vocational or marital choice will consider many alternatives with the help of the counsellor and will reach his final choice. At the end of this experience the client is not the same person that started exploring the problem. In the course of counselling not only the solution has undergone a change but also the perceptions of the client about the problem and about himself. His reactions towards the counsellor and towards his problem may be indicative of the change in his personality both in terms of self and role. He, after the successful counselling, is a different man and his reactions to future problems will also be different. This is to say that in counselling whether educational, vocational, marital etc., or psychological counselling and psychotherapy, the successful end is not brought about by the solution of the problem but by a basic change in the personality of the client. Hence in all types of counselling or psychotherapy the focus of counselling is the client and not his problem. In this respect there is

no fundamental difference between counselling and psychotherapy.

Thirdly, counselling concerns itself with attitudes rather than with reactions. Actions change as counselling will progress, but as a result of attitude change. Individuals react to external reality as they perceive it. The function of counselling, therefore, is to help the individual to perceive the external reality without distorting or exaggerating it or without being afraid of it. A person who is shy or is scared to make contacts with people is generally not sure of how other people will react to him, or is afraid other people may not react to him well and is rather reluctant to test the reality. The attitude of the individual towards others is thus conditioned by his deficient or unadaptive social traits. In such situations counselling is not concerned with the actions of the individual such as shyness or aloofness or fear but the attitude from which these reactions spring.

Fourthly, it is emotional rather than purely intellectual attitudes which are the raw material of the counselling process. Perhaps there is really no such thing as purely intellectual attitude. All problems whether educational, vocational, marital, familial or personal have an emotive content and are, therefore, in final analysis, emotional. Counselling of all types or psychotherapy really is to deal with the emotional content of the problem; all help thus rendered by the counsellor is psychological in nature. The help rendered may take the form of information, advice, or guidance but that does not alter the fact that it is the emotional nature of the problem which calls for expert help. This makes all types of counselling perform the same task, and therefore, one type of counselling is not different from the other or from psychotherapy except in terms of their techniques.

And finally, counselling inevitably involves relationships between people, although it may seem to be purely an affair of the one individual who is undergoing it, and the individual who is helping him. While there are several types of counselling including psychotherapy which take their names from the types of problems for which they are rendered, they all tend to per-

form one function, namely helping the individual to develop insight, understanding and personal integration. Counselling, however, takes different names from the settings in which it is rendered. Counselling rendered with children in a play situation is called "Play-therapy", with a group of individuals is called "Group-therapy" and in the form of drama in which adults are cast as actors is called "Psycho-drama". Again the purpose is the same, i.e. to help the individual grow in personal maturity, by means of relationship which the counsellor is able to establish with the client. It is not the technique that brings about the change in the client but it is the counselling relationship between the counsellor and the client, that is responsible for the change.

Counselling ultimately is a dyadic relationship in which the counsellor, a professionally trained person and a counselee needing help interact so that a therapeutic relationship is established. The relationship the client establishes with the counsellor is translated in his relationship with other people. His relationship with other people to whom he is connected in various ways takes on a new meaning. It is because of this principle that recent writers on the counselling process are stressing relationship rather than technique, the general structure of the situation rather than specific rules about what to do and say.

counselling as a discipline

The reasons for counselling becoming a separate discipline calling for a different type of orientation of the practitioner are to be found mostly in the forces which have moulded this profession (325). Some of the antecedent conditions under which counselling developed in America may explain the amorphous state of counselling, which received a professional impetus from the institution of American education. The concepts which underlay the institution of American education were mass literacy, recognition of individual differences which were to be attended to, and the development of the

whole personality which implies the stimulation of social-emotional as well as intellectual development. A premium was also put on training for vocational success. A multi-phasic conceptualization of education necessitated concern and supervision both in the class and out-of-class behaviour of the student. This phase coincided with the national image of a "well-adjusted" person as "extroverted" and "outgoing" in his interpersonal relationships. In this complex social structure, the role of the "guidance" or "student personnel worker" began to be defined as that of helping the student to "personalize" his educational experiences.

There were also other kind of pressures which were operative. One of these was the pressure upon counsellors to become professional workers. This pressure has been identified by Wren (596) and Darley (84) as a sociological phenomenon. To be a professional counsellor, one had to have an organized body of knowledge; one had to have "sacrification rites" for novices to undergo, and one needed proper status symbols with which to identify the professional in-group, an attempt on the part of the counsellor to have an identification as a professional psychologist. In order to pay for this privilege the counsellor had to take an increasing number of psychology courses. This story is told in Hahn and MacLean (168), and also the status-conferring character of various levels of training, culminating in a doctor's degree, and professional certification in the form of a diploma.

The emergence of the counsellor as a professional psychologist on the American scene has further been made possible on account of the two emphases in American social science. One of these is a behaviouristic outlook, characterized by a rejection of instinctual determinism and an emphasis upon the study of modifiable behaviour. This has fitted in nicely with the general public's expectations that the counsellor teach his clients how to get along with people and to find the proper job. Another set of American attitudes evident in its social science: expediency and pragmatism, now demand of the counsellor answers to such questions as "Does it work?", "How does it work?",

"How can we do the job most economically and efficiently?", "Can we make the job more efficient by using mass production methods?"

Combined with these general antecedents to the development of counselling as a profession, there are two other specific sets of antecedents which have defined particular jobs to be performed. One of these was the educational-vocational guidance movement, which was given considerable impetus by the mental testing movement, a simple way of implementing the concept of mass production method in testing the suitability of men for jobs. Secondary schools, colleges and industrial concerns were the most suitable places where this method could achieve results. It is nothing surprising, therefore, that the vocational counsellor function for the first time emerged in these settings.

Parallel to the vocational guidance movement, another set of conditions led to the development of the mental hygiene movement, which emphasized the factors of child growth and development. Much importance was attached to longitudinal studies of individual development, analysis being in terms of changes within the unique individual. The concern of the child guidance worker was the identification, and later the prevention of serious emotional disturbances; an orthogenic approach, involving co-operation with other professionals, such as physicians, nurses and social workers, was fostered. The mental hygiene movement, in contrast to the educational and vocational guidance movement, drew heavily upon the study of "dynamic" (motivational) factors in personality development and social behaviour. Again, it is not surprising to find this function emerging in elementary schools, child guidance clinics, social welfare agencies, and hospital settings.

Out of all this confusion, a generic counselling function has begun to emerge as a psychological service. Although there is still some confusion as to whether counselling is to be conceived of as a role that any person can play, emphasis within the profession of psychology has been centred upon its definition as a profession. Within the past several years, workers, called

clinical psychologists, have taken an important step in defining training standards (335); persons called counselling psychologists have also taken similar steps to define standards of training at the sub-doctoral (30) and doctoral levels (31). There is considerable overlapping in functions between the two groups.

The social, economic and emotional conditions which preceded the emergence of counselling as a profession on the American scene to a certain extent are being duplicated in India. The emergence of India as an independent democratic republic, introduction of compulsory primary education, diversified secondary education and vocational education, development of a diversified industrial economy, technological changes, and the rise of modern cities have created conditions antecedent to the introduction of counselling. Counselling, therefore, has become a necessity. Human aspirations, hopes, fears and frustrations are similar everywhere, and call for fulfilment and help in every country. The tools of social science, including counselling, are to be put at the service of the people of India. Counselling as a discipline separate from teaching is the need of society. This function can be performed by a professionally trained person with the tools developed for this purpose.

approaches to counselling

There are several approaches to counselling. At least four of them are most distinguishable by their developmental background, underlying assumptions and present emphases. These four counselling theories are: the trait-and-factor centred or the acturial, the psychoanalytic, the self-theory or the client-centred and the neo-behaviourial. Counselling practices have been developed around one or more of these assumptions.

the trait-and-factor centred theory

The trait-and-factor centred approach to counselling which has the support of acturial methods, developed in four phases. The first phase was characterized by concern with measurable

traits of clients, such as aptitudes, interests, abilities, attitudes, and "personality" as predictors of vocational and educational success. The Minnesota ESRI studies (319), followed by the volume of Student Guidance Techniques (320) and the Minnesota Occupational Rating-Scales (321), Kitson's Psychology of Vocational Adjustment (221) and Super's Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment (416) are the product of this line of thinking. Bingham's Aptitude and Aptitude Testing (26) was a further illustration of the application of individual differences research methods to counselling. Testing approaches were grouped in terms of aptitudes, interests and achievements; and their application to manual occupations, skilled trades, clerical occupations, and professions were discussed.

Hull (180) predicted that the future vocational counsellor would administer a single universal battery of 30 or 40 different tests to all his clients. He would then enter the scores into a machine and would take from the machine a report of the client's predicted success in all the chief type occupations of the world. This has not been possible, although the depression of the 1930's and World War II extensively demonstrated the usefulness of this method of ordering human attributes for employment and recruitment programmes in the U.S.A.

The second stage of development of this approach was broadened to include in the concept of differential diagnosis a variety of client adjustment problems beyond the educational and vocational. Williamson, Longstaff, and Edmunds (591) summarized in the following groups the symptoms of the client problems noted by a group of faculty counsellors: (i) educational, (ii) vocational, (iii) financial, (iv) health, (v) family, and (vi) social, personal, and emotional. Williamson's "How to Counsel Students" (592) revised later and renamed "Counselling Adolescents" (593) and Hahn and MacLean's "General Clinical Counselling" (168) emphasized an objective analysis of the individual client's measurable attributes—to be used with other data (including background information, interview impressions, grade, health reports etc.,); prediction, chiefly of the client's most appropriate educational and vocational

alternatives; counselling, with emphasis upon informing the client of suitable courses of action; and follow-up by the counsellor or other trained persons of the client's performance after counselling.

In keeping with the spirit of classifying the problems of the clients, Pepinsky (324) published an extended and revised description of Bordin's (29) diagnostic constructs, under the heading of (*i*) lack of assurance, (*ii*) lack of information (*iii*), lack of skill, (*iv*) dependence, (*v*) self-conflict (cultural, interpersonal, and intrapersonal), and (*vi*) choice anxiety. Robinson (342) has more recently proposed a division into (*i*) adjustment, (*ii*) skills, and (*iii*) maturity problems as a means of furthering the communication process between counsellor and client.

The third stage of development in the trait approach to counselling was brought about by factorization studies which were made possible by the work of Spearman (404) and Cyril Burt (47) in England and of Thurstone (560) in America. Factor analytic methods have provided a means of isolating human traits through correlation analysis by means of computing machines. Not only were tests and test items factorized, but so were the criterion data. Out of the latter came greater knowledge and more severe headache—criterion measures were found to be complex in structure and unstable. Even in such a staid and respectable area as that of educational and vocational prediction research, serious questions were raised about the validity of the existing knowledge (39, 202, 562, 567).

The fourth stage of development of trait-factor approach to counselling has been brought about by the study of career patterns in which psychologists and sociologists have both made their contribution. Shaw (384) in his study of an individual delinquent stresses the stability of personality pattern which is formed in early childhood, and which keeps recurring with some modification and elaboration throughout later life. Davidson and Anderson (89) mapped out the career patterns of the workers in the occupational hierarchy. Miller and Form (274) also have a parallel notion in "ambitious" and "respon-

sive" career orientations which are distinguished by attitudinal sets and work progression. This is confirmed in a way by Ginzberg (129), who has classified personality as "work oriented" and "pleasure oriented" seeking satisfaction by variant emphasis on work. McArthur's (261) dichotomy of "public schoolboys" and "private schoolboys" as "doing oriented" and "being oriented" is illuminating in the light of Shaw, Miller and Form, and Ginzberg's observations.

These researches combined with the knowledge of the basic life stages of infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age, in developmental psychology, the sociological classification of life stages (273) and of occupational choice development (128) have given a new impetus to trait-factor approach to counselling. Super (421) has attempted to synthesize the various leads in the field of psychology of individual differences and sociological factors in terms of the development of a self-concept, which is used as a heuristic device to explain the "how" and "why" of client behaviour which aligns trait-psychology with self-psychology.

The difference between prediction based on the developmental or pattern method, and on trait or acturial method, however, is that the former is based on the extrapolation from the past of the same person, while the latter is based on a comparison between the person on a scale with others working in similar situations to infer how well the client will do in a certain situation. Both these methods can now be combined for the prediction of the client's future success in a certain job or in a certain given situation (422). This has solved the problem of clinical versus statistical prediction (267).

psycho-analysis

The classical school of psychotherapy called psychoanalysis was founded by Sigmund Freud, who himself was a psychiatrist. Freud masterminded the development of psychoanalysis until his death in 1939. His views on psychoanalytical theory and practice as it developed and changed are told in his own inimi-

table way in *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (118). As long as he lived he ruled the psychoanalytical world with an iron hand. In his later years, however, he fell out with his disciples among whom are such notables as Jung (208), Adler (1) and Rank (336) who themselves became leaders of important psychoanalytical movements. They introduced innovations in the assumptions which supported Freud's theory of psychoanalysis.

The American cultural anthropology made further inroads and incursions in the citadel of classical psychoanalysis by emphasizing the role of cultural components rather than biologically determined drives in the development of neurosis. Among those who stressed the person's cultural milieu on the nature and sequence of developmental pattern rather than biological components are Horney (178), Kardiner (213), Fromm (113) and Sullivan (412). Erikson (100) in his effort to reconcile the opposite schools of psychoanalysis upholds the universality of Freudian dynamisms but concedes that cultures vary in the extent to which particular kinds of libidinous fixations (e.g. "oral", "anal",) are to be found.

Adler's (1) "Individual Psychology" and Jung's (208) "Analytic Psychology", two of the major offshoots from the main branch of the classical psychoanalysis, especially emphasized the purposive nature of man and his goal-directed strivings far more than Freud. Jung's concept of individualism in learning to express one's individuality adumbrated the concepts of self-realization of Fromm (113) and "self-actualization" of Goldstein (131) and Rogers (351) thus bringing about an alignment between psychoanalysis and client-centred therapy.

The basic concepts underlying Freudian theory are: First, the concept of the unconscious mind, which is perhaps the keystone of Freud's whole philosophic structure, and treated as the storehouse of all repressed thoughts, feelings, and attitudes, as they were quite unacceptable to the conscious mind.

Freud conceptualized a threefold division of the "Mind" or psyche: the id (the unconscious), the ego (the conscious

"I") and the super-ego (the conscience or internalized social precepts). The primitive pleasure-seeking and aggressive urges symbolized by the id are restrained by the ego, the reality factor. The ego in turn is controlled by the super-ego, the symbol of social authority or paternal authority. The process by means of which an id craving is prevented from invading consciousness or is shut out of consciousness is known as repression. Repression is an unconscious process and operates in the last analysis due to fear. It is by means of repression that an individual is able to keep all thoughts, feelings, and attitudes which were quite unacceptable to the conscious mind, in the unconscious.

Second, although a corollary conception, is the concept of ambivalence, which explains the conflict between the conscious mind and the unconscious mind. Freud noted that these two parts were often in conflict with each other. Often the unconscious harboured desires contrary to what the conscious was wanting. In other words, one could love and one could hate simultaneously; one could have fear and one could at the same time be courageous. There seemed to be no feeling, in fact, which did not have its counter, and the human mind seemed to be quite capable of containing these opposites—often without disturbance.

Third is the historical development of conflict in the individual. In other words conflict can be understood only in terms of the developmental history of the individual, i.e. the past of the patient. Freud conceptualized the ego in terms of its ontogenetic development from phylogenetically determined id (116). He, therefore, considered that if one were going to treat a conflict of any kind, it was assumed that one should know the history of this conflict. One had to look for conflicts of the past to understand those of the present, and consequently prediction in counselling can be based on the process of "extrapolation", i.e. by studying the developmental history of the individual the counsellor can understand the present and the future conflicts of the counselee, and can make a prediction of future adjustment.

Another Freudian concept of primary importance is the "transference", which implies the relationship between the counsellor and the client within which the client is to express his basic feelings. Transference is relationship in which the projection of the feelings (originally psycho-sexual in nature) on to the analyst, who served as a kind of substitute for the original "love-hate object" (parent-figure), takes place. The feeling, in other words, is transferred to the analyst. This gives the relationship of counsellor and client a distinct character and sets it apart from ordinary relationships. The whole self is involved in the transference, since the self was built upon this original relationship to the parent. In the transference this original relationship is relived. This time the feeling did not have to take unconscious forms of expression. It could be brought out into the light of adult consciousness and be recognized as not really feeling for the analyst himself, but as feeling which stemmed from another source. The concept of relationship to explain the process of therapy is now universally accepted, although it is interpreted by other schools of psychotherapy in their own characteristic ways.

Associated with the transference in Freudian theory is the concept of "resistance", particularly the resistance to interpretation of the transference. Interpretation is to deal with making the client realize that the feeling which was projected on to the analyst, had its source somewhere else. Through the insight thus derived, the client comes to see that the feelings he originally held towards his parents may have been justified; the actions of the analyst should not call forth such feelings. Before the client comes to accept this, he strongly resists such an interpretation.

client-centred therapy

Client-centred therapy has been the outgrowth of many psychological forces including classical psychoanalysis. Rogers (353) who developed the technique of non-directive therapy, a departure from the American trait-and factor-centred ap-

proach, integrated in his thinking some of the concepts of Otto Rank (336), Jessie Taft (427) and others. Rogers borrowed the concept of the "self-concept" from Raimy (334), which had a theoretical support in the Leckey's (233) formulation of "self-consistency." Raimy proposed the use of "self-concept" as the basis for understanding the process of counselling. The "self" as a heuristic device in understanding the counselling process, linked non-directive therapy with the psychology of conscious states, and offered a new frame of reference for understanding human behaviour.

The self-frame of reference received further confirmation in the phenomenological system of psychology developed by Snygg (398) supporting the notion that external events were relevant to client behaviour only as they were perceived and integrated by him into his action pattern (217). The formulation of the phenomenological field had a linkage with Lewin's (235) "psychological environment" in its implication that the client responded to those events which were meaningful to him. Snygg (399), therefore, emphasized that the task in understanding human behaviour consisted in reconstructing a subject's "phenomenological field" from the observable behaviour, because the behaviour is chiefly determined by this field. This formulation enabled client-centred therapy to depart from its previously held mechanical, technique-oriented position and move into its present stance of considering the counsellor's job to perceive the way the client seemed to be perceiving and to manifest an accepting and understanding attitude in his counselling relationship.

This relates to the currently held "central hypothesis" in non-directive therapy (354) that the client has within him the capacity to solve his own problems if he can be freed to re-organize his own "perceptual field", including his concept of the self. This also explains why emphasis is placed on the counsellor's attitude rather than on his technique in client-centred therapy which has also been named as non-directive therapy in contrast to trait-and-factor-centred approach often called Directive-therapy.

behaviour therapy

One of the prominent therapies, which is based on the plethora of research developed in the field of animal learning, is called Behaviour therapy. Behaviour therapy is made possible by increased perspective since the heyday of Watsonian behaviourism (581) and is undergoing constant refinement in the light of accumulating laboratory experiments.

Watson (582) discarded consciousness as an object of special study by psychologists, and recommended concentration on the observation of the overt behaviour of other organisms. He laid stress on the moulding of an organism by its environment. Toleman (566) lent sophistication to behaviour organization by coining the term "intervening variable" for the "inner movements" to account for the organic learning and the pathways to the goal-objects. The pathways were organized as signs or indicators in a kind of cognitive map, which led the organism towards its goal.

Clark Hull (181) explained behaviour in terms of conditioned responses. His reinforcement theory which is directly related to Pavlovian (323) conditioning has no place for perception, cognition, or other "conceptual organizing ability" of the organism. Skinner (394), who is one of the leaders in the field of behaviourism, also proposed to keep to a minimum the intervening variables in his system.

The learning approach to behaviour is based on the assumption that neurotic symptoms are learnt patterns of behaviour, and are all those abnormal reactions which are either surplus conditioned responses or deficient responses. Surplus conditioned responses are those reactions which served a purpose when they were learnt but have now become superfluous; deficient responses are those reactions which fall short of the purpose which they were socially meant to perform. All these reactions are learned by the individual along the continuum of his growth. The behaviour therapy consists in replacing the abnormal reaction pattern of behaviour by new and adaptive behaviours by methods of treatment derived from principles

of reinforcement and extinction. In other words, conditioned responses are made extinct by negative reinforcement and new adaptable responses are developed by positive reinforcement. Behaviour therapy employs the mechanism of reward and punishment to bring about a change in counselee behaviour, in terms of the removal of unadaptive symptoms. Behaviour therapy, therefore, stresses the elimination of symptoms and in that sense is a symptomatic treatment. "Get rid of the symptoms and you have eliminated the neurosis" (103, p. 41).

An offshoot in the field of behaviourism is the work done by Miller (276) which offers an important link between the systematic approach to learning and clinical practice. If the client's anxieties can be reduced, repressed (inhibited) material can be symbolically reinstated by a client during the course of his counselling contacts (386). It would seem that we are dealing here with a phenomenon similar to the threat reduction of the self-therapy group, and Mowrer (287) emphasizes its relationship to anxiety reduction as discussed by the psychoanalytic group.

a schematic comparison of assumptions underlying different therapies

A schematic comparison (see pp. 316-17) of the principal assumptions underlying the stated theories of counselling will provide the inexperienced counsellor with a handy guide to understanding.

A study of the schematic comparison of the basic assumptions of these four prominent therapies makes it clear that they have common features and also there are certain features unique to them. While the Trait-and-Factor-centred and Behaviour therapies are based on consistent, properly formulated theories leading to testable hypotheses, psychoanalytic and non-directive therapies are based upon inadequately tested postulates. The latter two therapies, however, are based on clinical experience and are increasingly developing testable hypotheses. While interpretation is essential in psycholanalysis,

<i>Trait-and-factor Therapy</i>	<i>Psycho-analytic Therapy</i>	<i>Client-Centred Therapy</i>	<i>Behaviour Therapy</i>
1. Persons differ in their abilities, interests, and personalities.	Symptoms, the visible upshot of unconscious causes (complexes)	Self-concept as an organizing factor in behaviour.	Symptoms as evidence of faulty learning.
2. Individual differences can be ordered and measured along a continuum of defined traits or factors.	Symptoms as evidence of repression.	Self-functions in the phenomenological world or psychological environment.	Symptomatology is determined by individual differences and autonomic ability in conditionality as well as accidental environmental circumstances.
3. Individuals can be made aware of their abilities and how they can be turned into assets.	Symptomatology is determined by defence mechanism.	Self tends to maintain and actualize itself.	All treatment of neurotic disorders is concerned with habits existing at present; the historical development is largely irrelevant.
4. Symptoms as evidence of faulty utilization of traits and characteristics, and lack of skills and information of outside world.	Treatment of neurotic disorders must be historically based.	Symptomatology as evidence of threat to self-concept.	Cures are achieved by treating the symptom itself, i.e. by extinguishing unadaptive C.R.'s and establishing adaptive C.R.'s.
5. All problems of adjustment, however, are not caused on account of lack of information. Some problems have underlying emotional causes which can be handled with one or a combination of the current counselling techniques.	Cures are achieved by handling the underlying (unconscious) dynamics and not by treating the symptom itself.	Symptomatology is determined by the rigidity of the self-structure organized to maintain itself.	Interpretation permitted in clinical practice, is irrelevant in practical therapy.

6. Symptomatic treatment leads to the elaboration of new symptoms.
- Treatment is concerned with self-concept as existing at present; historical development thought unimportant.
- Cure is brought about by releasing the creative impulse in the individual by offering him a permissive and accepting atmosphere. The individual accepts in one consistent and integrated system all his sensory and visceral experiences.
- Interpretation of symptoms, dreams, acts, etc. is an important element of treatment.
- Transference relationship is essential for cures of neurotic disorders.
- Symptomatic treatment leads to permanent recovery, provided autonomic as well as skeletal C.R.'s are extinguished.
- Personal relations are not essential for cures of neurotic disorders, although they may be useful in certain circumstances. In clinical practice personal relations, however, are essential.
- In clinical practice counsellor-counselee relationship can be handled as in psycho-analysis or as in non-directive therapy.
- Interpretation of symptoms and dreams is not important. Instead the counsellor offers acceptance, reflection, clarification and restatement of unverbalized feelings, emotions and attitudes. Transference relationships are handled like all other reactions of the client, permissively.
- Personal relations are essential for cure of neurotic disorders.

it is considered unnecessary in all other kinds of therapy. The historical factor in the cure of maladjustment is considered most important in psychoanalysis, less important in the client-centred and trait-centred-approaches and least important in behaviour therapy. Except psychoanalysis, the other therapies consider the present reactions of the client more important.

Other features in which these approaches agree and differ are: Transference relations are most important in psychoanalysis and least important in Trait, non-directive and behaviour therapies. Counsellor-Client relationship is treated as a therapeutic tool for bringing about a cure by all therapies except in practical behaviour therapy which depends solely on the manipulation of the environment of the client. While all these therapies explain the "why" and "how" of client behaviour, Trait-and-Factor-Centred approach is to depend either on Self-theory, psychoanalytic theory or Learning-theory to account for the client behaviour. In other words, counselling is not the product of the Trait-centred approach but is an adjunct to it. It has, therefore, to lean on other theories for explaining the "why" and "how" of client behaviour and is eclectic in its approach.

Another distinguishing feature is that the Trait-and-Factor-Centred approach is based on the use of diagnostic tools, the other approaches eschew them. While all the therapies are built for clinical use, behaviour therapy does not extend beyond the cure of neurotic symptoms in its usefulness. Thus, behaviour therapy cannot form the foundation of guidance and counselling practices and procedures, nor can it offer a solution of interpersonal relations. Behaviour therapy has the greatest advantage in educational administration and in dealing with behaviour deviations.

counselling process

The process of counselling in psychoanalysis consists in the task of loosening the libido (sex-energy) from attachment to neurotic symptoms and making it serviceable to the ego (118).

In the Trait-and-Factor-Centred approach to counselling, it consists in assisting the individual to evaluate his potentialities and the available opportunities (420). Client-Centred Counselling views the process in terms of the reorganization of the self (353), and Behaviour therapy aims at extinguishing the unadaptive conditioned responses (103).

Describing the process of counselling Freud (118, p. 21) states, "In psychoanalytic treatment nothing happens but an exchange of words between the patient and the physician. The patient talks, narrates his past experiences and present impressions, complains, and expresses his wishes and emotions. The physician listens, attempts to direct the patient's thought processes, reminds him, forces his attention in certain directions, gives him explanation and observes the reactions of understanding or denial thus evoked."

In non-directive therapy, however, the counsellor focuses his attention upon the client's feelings, perceptions and evaluations. The movement is from symptom to self, from environment to self, and from others to self. The client talks about the material which is available in awareness and considers the material which was not available to conscious consideration until therapy began. Another movement is from past to present. The client tends to begin with some past aspect of his conflict and gradually faces the more crucial and often unpleasant issue as it exists in the present. Thus the counselling process ends with the person dealing with himself—his attitudes, emotions, values, goals—as they currently exist (351). Still another way in which the counselling process can be described is that it is a learning process through which a person acquires an ability to converse with himself in appropriate ways so as to control his own conduct (380).

The stages in the non-directive counselling process have been clearly spelled out by Rogers (353). The first is the person's coming for counselling. The next is the release of feelings, mostly negative at first—hatreds, worries, fears, self-disparagement. The counsellor accepts these feelings as they are expressed, reflecting them back to the client as well as he can. Insight begins to

occur with increasing frequency. Gradually positive feelings emerge—hopes, self-respect, love for other people. The next stage is reached when the client begins to think of things he can do to express these attitudes and improve his own situation. Such plans may be tentative and hesitant at first, but as he tries them out between interviews they assume a more definitive shape. The final stage is reached when the client suggests that he no longer needs the counselling interview. This decision may be dubious in the beginning, and the person may change his mind several times about it, but after a short time it becomes a conviction.

Essentially, the process consists in the therapist's attempts at reconstructing the perceptual field of the individual at the moment of expression, and to communicate this understanding with skill and sensitivity. The various terms that have been used to describe the kinds of statement that the therapist makes for restructuring the perceptual field of the individual in therapy are: clarification of feeling, reflection of feeling, restatement of content, acceptance of expression, restructuring of feeling etc.

In terms of vocational counselling Super (423) gives the following schematic outline of the process, which is not different from what it is in non-directive counselling. "The client asks, 'What sort of person am I?', and explores his perception of himself; he asks, 'What sort of person do I want to be?' and explores his ideal self; he asks, 'How can I reconcile these selves?' He relates his ideal self to reality, and he reorganizes his self-concept to bring about a better self-integration. The client emerges from this process a more self-accepting, self-understanding individual, with an integrated set of values which makes it easier for him to select goals and move systematically toward their achievement."

The process of vocational counselling can be defined in terms of "being" and "becoming" (3) in which the client in a counselling interview is assisted to make a realistic appraisal of the resources at his disposal and the resources needed for becoming what he intends to be. In the counselling process the conception of the available resources in terms of the concept of the

self as it is at present, and the needed resources in terms of the concept of the self as it is to be in the future, undergo an evaluative change. It also brings about a qualitative and quantitative change in the alignment of the current picture of the self and the picture of the self which is to be implemented in terms of an occupational preference or decision.

other forms of counselling

The attitudes, skills and ethics which the therapist brings to bear on individual counselling can be generalized to other counselling situations also. In play therapy with children who find it difficult to verbalize their thoughts, feelings and emotions, the counsellor establishes a permissive and accepting relationship through structuring the situation and by letting the child handle objects which represent human figures and other things the child meets and sees in his experience of daily living. Within certain specified limits the therapist completely accepts the child and offers him full freedom in manipulating the objects. The therapist stays in the background and allows the child to lead him. The therapist offers reflection and clarification of the child's feelings and emotions and may also interpret his actions if the therapist is a psychoanalytically-oriented practitioner.

In group therapy the therapist acts as the leader of the group and by staying in the background as a catalyst confers complete freedom on all the members to express themselves. The therapist plays a non-judgmental, permissive and non-threatening role, reflects and clarifies the feelings and emotions of the members. The difference between individual counselling and group counselling, however, is the lack of a counselling relationship, a disadvantage which is offset by the common sharing of feelings and purgation of emotions which come about by experiencing that not only the speaker but others also are in the same predicament. An experienced counsellor generally classifies members according to their common problem and can thus have an homogenous group for counselling.

The underlying principles of group therapy can be applied to a drama situation with adolescents and adults. The technique has come to be called psychodrama, and was developed by Moreno (285). A problem situation is organized in the form of a drama, in which clients are cast in the roles of authority-figures with which the clients have to interact in their daily living. The emphasis is on role-playing, and bringing out into the open the repressed emotions for release without being threatened, judged or punished. The therapist plays the role of the director by casting the clients in roles of their own choice, and also acts as alter-ego. In a dramatic situation of this kind the client by playing the role from which he was prevented in real life, on account of social disapproval, or personal inhibition, is able to test his self-concept against reality, and bring out his repressed feelings into awareness. In the group situation the degree of acceptance the players receive from one another, and the reflection of feelings which is done by the therapist, assist the players in reconstructing their field of self-perception which includes their denied selves.

goals of counselling

The goals which counselling sets out to achieve are to a degree determined by the setting in which it is done. But common to all the settings is the individual whether alone or in groups with whom counselling is done. Hence the goals of counselling consist in the changes which occur in the behaviour or the personality of the counsellee. Different writers on this subject have defined the counselling goals in different terms, which can be integrated in a single framework of counsellee behaviour. Whether it is personal counselling with its adjustment ramifications, leisure-time counselling with its aim of choosing an appropriate leisure-time activity, marital counselling for marital happiness or vocational counselling leading up to vocational planning and adjustment, the process of all counselling involves the total personality of the counsellee and aims at

freeing the counsellee of his anxiety and making available his inner resources for productive use.

Both these aims of counselling are well stated by Perceival Symonds in *Dynamics of Psychotherapy* (426): "In general the aims of psychotherapy can be boiled down to these two: In the first place, the therapist hopes that his client will gain inner peace and freedom from anxiety, worry and stress. In the second, he hopes that his client will be able to effect certain changes in his behaviour, leading to improved social relationships and more adequate functioning, both in his work, in his family, and in his other social relationships. As a result of psychotherapy the client should become a better member of the human family."

These aims are more succinctly stated by Carl Rogers in *Client-Centred Therapy* (353) "Resolving some of those conflicts, giving the individual a more satisfying adjustment within himself as well as a more satisfying relationship to others and to his environment . . ." More realistically stated the goal of psychotherapy "is the achievement of the optimal functioning within the limitations of financial circumstances, existing motivations, ego resources and the reality situation" (595).

In the "Symposium on the Theory of the Therapeutic Results of Psychoanalysis", *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* (18), Edmund Bergler states, "The ultimate goal . . . is that where id was, there shall ego be." There now appears to be a growing agreement in conceptualization of the general goals of psychotherapy and counselling. In the words of Rudikoff (359) the goal of counselling is mobilizing the counsellee towards productive activity and greater inner satisfaction.

summary

Counselling in its rudimentary form is present whenever a more experienced and more matured person tenders advice or information on a problem a less experienced and less matured person is facing. But in its present systematic form counselling is in the process of becoming a separate discipline and profession.

Use of it is being made in schools, colleges, hospitals, churches and industry. In short in all those situations in which persons interact, and problems of interpersonal relationships arise counselling is employed. Counselling which primarily is a relationship between two persons, is now being generalized to group situations with satisfactory results. This has given rise to play therapy, group counselling and psychodrama.

There are several schools of counselling, among which four are the most prominent. These four schools of counselling which differ in their emphases on the client or his problems are: Trait-and-Factor-centred, Psychoanalytic, Client-centred and Behaviouristic. Although qualitatively the difference between these therapies is little, they have at their disposal definitively formulated theories and research. While the Trait-and-Factor-centred approach and the Behaviour approach to counselling have at their disposal tested hypotheses, the other two therapies, the Client-centred and Psychoanalysis depend on clinical research data and to that extent they are still speculative. Increasingly these therapies are developing common hypotheses for testing and are being integrated into a single frame of reference of counsellor-client relationship.

Another integration which is taking place between these therapies is on the level of their aims. All counselling whether done for personal adjustment or solving a personal problem aims at effecting a change in the behaviour of the counsellee, by controlling the stimuli and his reactions towards them. This goal aligns psychotherapy with counselling. In other words, if it is the behaviour change that is meant to be achieved by counselling and psychotherapy, the distinction between them is tenuous and superficial. All schools of counselling are in common in explaining the process of therapy in terms of the organismic learning and optimum functioning of the individual.

The Counsellor

C

the origins

The origins of the counsellor are embedded in antiquity. The first counsellors perhaps were the parents who guided their children in the ways of adulthood responsibilities and tribal life. This function was extended to include the magic man who also acted as tribal medicine man. The magic man brought in the supernatural to offer guidance in peril and adversity. The other agency of guidance was the priest who fixed a frame of reference for personal and social behaviour in terms of totems and taboos. This hierarchy of guidesmen has remained undisturbed in the life of the tribal societies even today. The simple structure of tribal social order with its undiversified economic pursuits has allowed such an elementary system of guidance and counselling to operate with sufficient effectiveness.

The diversification of society and its economic pursuits rendered home education inadequate and professional preparation a matter of increasing specialization. The function of the parents became mainly bread-winning. The role of the priest as dispenser of religious knowledge developed into the role of dispenser of worldly learning. The magic man became a full-fledged medicine man. Gradually education rather than mere learning of a craft or trade became a necessity resulting in the development of teaching as a profession. The teacher became a professional reality in the life of the individual and society. It is no wonder, therefore, that a person, a professional teacher, was the first to make a systematic attempt, under educational auspices, to frame a plan calculated to help pupils

select a vocation (37). The introduction of counselling as a function of school education made the development of the counsellor possible.

The twentieth century has the singular characteristic of having the maximum diversification of economic pursuits. With the increasing complexity of the modern social and economic systems, there has been an increasing need for guiding the individual to seek life's satisfying goals. Combined with this complexity are the deep-seated emotional experiences which the adolescents of today are undergoing and which obscure their basic needs and desires. The stresses and strains of adolescence are numerous and confusing, and hence "many of the difficulties connected with an occupational choice arise from the emotional turmoil which accompanies general maturation" (128, p. 6).

In spite of the common belief that an appropriate and satisfactory occupational choice can be made only if the individual considers his capacities, interests, and goals, the vocational leaders also know that a satisfactory choice always transcends the abilities and aspirations of the individual. The external environment offers opportunities, but it also imposes limitations. The process has roots in the interplay of the individual and reality. It is only an expert who can bring the complex reality into focus and help the individual to evaluate both his opportunities and his limitations. Counselling, therefore, is veering away from education in several aspects. It is developing its own literature, philosophy, methodology and tools of investigation. In many ways it is becoming a separate and independent discipline. With the mounting degree of specialization and sophistication in its techniques and tools, counselling has become an elite profession, calling for the employment of specialists known as counsellors. The rise of the counsellor is typically a phenomenon of the twentieth century, the counsellor becoming a specialist and counselling a speciality.

counsellor vs. teacher

Counsellor and teacher for a long time remained synonymous.

Since both teacher and counsellor began to operate in a school system, their functions and roles have overlapped. Even today in spite of the increasing sophistication and specialization in the techniques of guidance and counselling, the concept of counsellor as teacher or every teacher as a counsellor has remained deeply embedded in the thinking of a layman. The present international scene is symptomatic of this sort of thinking when it suggests that the teacher should be the pivot of the guidance and counselling programme on the school level (192). The present thinking in India is typically geared to this notion (22), both on the secondary school level (400) and on the elementary school level (203).

This overlapping in the function of counsellor and teacher is bound to arise from the concept of counselling as advisement and as a means of adjustment. It is true that effective guidance leads to adjustment, but adjustment or happiness can hardly be made the chief aims of guidance and counselling (34, 369). The inclusion of the concept of adjustment in counselling has also resulted in an emotional approach to guidance practices, equating guidance with teaching. It is however gratifying that a swerve from this thinking is now evidenced in the writing of some of the authors in India, when it is suggested that "formal teaching is not educational guidance; nor should educational guidance be confused with organized education. Guidance is present only when the assistance given is directed towards enabling the individual to interpret experiences and make choices and plans" (140, p. 4).

The school for the child is a different place to function than the home. The modern school with its own rules and regulations, code of conduct, and social structure creates a culture which is absolutely different from that of the home of the student. While the school fosters some of the behaviours the student brings from home, it eliminates some which give rise to conflicts in the school culture. The school authority-structure from the principal down to the school peon and from the school prefects through housemasters down to the class monitors operates as a selective influence both in terms of student

behaviour and student achievement. Schools function both in terms of boosters of achievement and as eliminators of creativity and originality. Education, therefore, considered in terms of a sociological process can hardly be treated at par with counselling which is a process of assisting the student to find solutions of his own problems in his own unique way. The school acculturates many in the culture of the few, and generally has a culture of its own.

The way the school acts as a selective influence in the life of the students in the American society has been brought out vividly in several American researches (130, 579). Williams (590, p. 268) considers the school system as a "segregated social system with its own patterns of authority and control; its distinctive groups and form of organisation, its special ceremonies and rituals, its peculiar language, its special norms and values." School environment is generally achievement-oriented and is geared to the concept of competitive performance and excellence, sometimes even to the exclusion of human factors. The school environment is organized in a way that often develops anxiety among the students to make them perform better and better. The teacher is the pivot of such a system, which operates in terms of knowledge, learning and achievement rather than in terms of self-understanding, a basic concept in counselling.

To entrust the teacher with two contrary functions of sharing the accumulated knowledge in an environment surcharged with a keen desire to excel, and of counselling, which is to enable the student to assimilate the available knowledge in an environment free from anxiety and threat into a coherent picture of the self, is to cripple the teacher from performing either function. Over and above, this twin function will make the work of the teacher more difficult, because the skills which are required for teaching are fundamentally different from those required for counselling. Teaching in India is still, to a large extent, a process whose outcome is not measured in terms of growth elements. The result is measured by an external agency in terms of subject-achievement. The teacher, therefore,

is to function as a representative of an authority-structure whose sole aim is to determine whether the student has been maintained effectively on the receiving end. This by no means excludes the teacher-student interaction as a co-operative function in the field of class-room communication. But it does render the teacher an ineffective agent of counselling.

Another factor that enters into teacher-student relationship is the authoritarian attitude of the teacher, who has a mass of knowledge at his command, and the skill to communicate it. In this interaction the student is always on the receiving end. The information gathered about the student by the teacher in a counselling interview may turn out to be a handicap in the interaction of the teacher and the student in a class-room situation. His demands on the student will vary with his knowledge of the student gained in a counselling session. The lowering of expectation of a certain standard of performance from the student will invariably affect the demand for excellence in performance. The relationship created in a counselling interview, which is therapeutic in nature, will interfere with the authoritarian demand for performance. Besides, the limits imposed on counselling are of a nature which would render the class-room relationship between the teacher and a group of 25-30 students ineffectual. The teacher is to guide the student in preparing for the public examination in the light of personal experience and certain preconceived notions, which make the freedom of experimentation difficult. The counsellor, on the other hand, is to provide the counsellee maximum freedom to play the role he would want to play in his real life, so that the counsellee freed from anxiety should be able to lower his defences and learn new behaviour. A certain degree of anxiety is absolutely necessary for academic achievement. These two contradictory demands of the reality of the individual's life cannot be reconciled by the teacher.

Value judgment and assessment form part of teaching; but they should be absent in a counselling interview. To make the teacher render two functions, one of building up a certain amount of anxiety in the student so that he might excel in his

performance, and the other in helping the student to decrease the anxiety so that he should counter reality without stress and fear, will be an impossible task for any teacher to reconcile. Teaching and counselling are two separate functions and should, therefore, be performed by two separate persons each trained in his own speciality. The areas in which these two functions overlap do not necessarily make them identical in nature.

Counselling as a profession results in the emotional isolation of the counsellor from other persons. Isolation has also been suggested as a road-block in the creativity of the counsellor (161). To cast the teacher into the role of a counsellor, which will isolate him from his students emotionally, deprives the teacher of the nurturance-need fulfilment which he can offer students for their growth. The teacher, however, is to be acquainted with the guidance point of view of providing an atmosphere of complete emotional freedom, permissiveness of attitude and tolerance for another person's point of view so that the students can grow in an environment free from fear, anxiety and threat. A course in the principles of guidance and counselling, however, should form part of the teacher's training syllabus.

In the highly complex world of work of today, counselling has become a highly skilled job requiring special aptitude and prolonged specialized training and experience which makes counselling a separate specificity from teaching. The role of the counsellor, therefore, is being increasingly articulated in terms of his professional skills. Although for the present, school counsellors are not better than retreaded teachers, this situation is going to change, and indeed is already changing with the counsellor now being specifically educated for his job. The speed with which new researches are pouring out of universities, laboratories and clinics in areas significant for the counsellor such as learning, motivation, personality appraisal, vocational choice, human abilities, and their influence on psychological thinking, will make it impossible for the teacher to perform the twin task of teaching and counselling (597).

role and functions of the counsellor

The role and functions of the counsellor are dynamic and can be understood best in the context in which they are performed. The counsellor is called upon to function in various capacities and in various places. In whichever capacity the counsellor may function, his interactional field is the human personality; his ultimate materials are human emotions and perceptions and his tool is the dialogue. In other words the role of the counsellor finally culminates in that of a psychotherapist, who is to play the dual role of practitioner and scientist (325).

counsellor as practitioner

The first and foremost field of concern of a counsellor as a practitioner is the school, the original place of his birth and development. Since the first counsellor was a teacher, it has to a great extent remained the lot of teachers to perform the functions of counsellors. This is especially true of India, although the difference between counsellor as career master and as psychotherapist is being differentiated in recent years (155). The functions of the counsellor in India have remained as described below (270).

1. Collection and dissemination of occupational information.
2. Display of posters, charts, leaflets, monographs, newsletters, notification of jobs, training courses and scholarships.
3. Giving of career talks, inviting guest speakers, and employing audio-visual aids in the communication of employment information to the students.
4. Keeping of a regular information centre in the school premises.
5. Counselling students in adjustment problems which may have their source in home life or school life. This

function the counsellor will perform by interviewing the students. The stress in this phase of the counsellor's work will be on personal adjustment.

6. Studying pupil's suitability for training and for an occupation, on the basis of collected information by means of testing and non-testing techniques, and by interviewing teachers and parents.
7. Identifying the talented pupils, and by helping them to develop their occupational careers. He will also identify leadership talent among the pupils and make an attempt to provide them adequate opportunities for developing this talent. The search for identifying talent should rather begin in elementary school (171). Another area of the counsellor's attention may also be acceleration of gifted children, so that their talent is put at the disposal of the nation earlier than it would be if developed through regular school channels (330).
8. Providing occupation orientation by giving the pupils information about the demands of occupational life and maintaining equilibrium amidst a threatening environment.
9. Co-ordination with employment exchanges which function as placement agencies.

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (587, pp. 52-53) lists the following functions which are performed by counsellors in American schools, according to a survey conducted for the Conference.

1. Counselling
2. Counselling and teaching classes in occupations.
3. Counselling and making occupational studies.
4. Counselling, teaching classes in occupations and making occupational studies.
5. In addition to these major activities, counsellors may be assigned a large number of miscellaneous duties, such as ability grouping and psychological testing, programming

work with special types of pupils, the keeping of personal records, and so forth.

A parallel list of duties was compiled by the American Association of Social Workers (587, p. 54).

1. Administrative duties.
2. Case work and recording case histories.
3. Classifying pupils in ability groups.
4. Clerical work.
5. Conference and interviews with
 - Teachers.
 - Parents.
 - Pupils.
 - Drop-outs.
6. Co-operation with welfare agencies.
7. Co-ordinating.
8. Counselling and guidance.
 - Undifferentiated.
 - Educational.
 - Vocational.
 - Moral.
 - Social.
 - Health.
 - Supervision.
9. Dealing with
 - Discipline cases.
 - Handicapped pupils.
 - Health problems.
10. Failures
 - Adjusting.
 - Investigating causes of.
 - Interviewing.
 - Follow-up of.
11. Occupational information
 - Collecting.
 - Disseminating.

- Teaching classes in.
- Supervising classes in.
- 12. Placement in jobs.
- 13. Placement in classes.
- 14. Programme planning.
- 15. Programming pupils.
- 16. Record keeping.
- 17. Research.
- 18. Scholarships
 - Activities in connection with.
- 19. Supervision of
 - Student activities.
 - Others.
- 20. Teaching.
- 21. Testing.
- 22. Tests, supervising.
- 23. Tests, recording and interpreting.
- 24. Transfer of pupils.
- 25. Visiting
 - Homes.
 - Plants.

Another study conducted by Cox (78) classifies the functions of counsellors roughly in the following order of frequency:

- 1. Work with parents.
- 2. Educational-vocational-emotional guidance of pupils.
- 3. Supervision of tests, giving and interpreting test results.
- 4. Co-operation with law enforcing agencies.
- 5. Consultation with employers.
- 6. Teaching.
- 7. Chaperoning parties and social needs.
- 8. Follow-up of pupils who have left school.

Since then several other studies have been made to discover and to catalogue the functions and duties of school counsellors. All these studies point towards certain common factors of the

school counsellor being called by various names and having perforce to perform varied duties. The most frequent titles given are: counsellor, school counsellor, vocational adviser, guidance counsellor, dean, and assistant principal. Most of these titles are being used in India also, and to these is now added, after the British pattern, the title of career master. The school counsellor, whatever be his nomenclature, is to perform a cluster of duties some of which are directly and some indirectly related with his counselling function. It is rather difficult to tell which duties help and which hinder the basic work of individual counselling. "Some counsellors have found every one of the functions they perform to be helpful in their work; . . . even administering discipline has been found useful by them" (206, p. 548).

The Committee of the N.V.G.A. (205), for want of a better name, gave the title of "school counsellor" to the chief guidance officer in the school, and outlined the general functions of the position as follows:

"The term "school counsellor" is used to indicate the personnel worker whose chief responsibility is to stimulate, initiate, develop and co-ordinate the guidance work of the entire school. He will in many schools also perform some one or more of specialized guidance service; what this will be is determined by the type of other personnel available. He must act as guidance leader and as a resource person in the school and should have superior qualifications and training for the task. In many schools he will be the only personnel worker and be directly responsible for the entire guidance programme."

Studies conducted in the role perception of the counsellor (370) throw valuable light on the school counsellor's role and offer help in defining it. Both principals and counsellors perceive the ideal function of secondary school counsellors to include the counselling of students with personal or social problems, vocational and educational counselling, making test interpretations to individual students, identifying exceptional students, and interviewing teacher-referred students. Responsibilities, viewed both by principals and counsellors,

as least like the ideal role, were attendance keeping, audio-visual supervision, substituting for the principal, performing welfare services, and doing police liaison work. Both principals and counsellors perceived the ideal role as being connected with educational-vocational-emotional guidance.

When perceptions of principals and counsellors of the counsellor's role are focused against the perceptions of parents of the same role, we come up with partial confirmation. A study made in the perceptions of parents of six, eight, ten' and twelve grade children of the counsellor's role disclosed (19) that parents perceived school counsellors to be more helpful than the best family friends and more helpful than school principals. It was also found that the parents of the students at all four grade levels perceived school counsellors to be more helpful with educational and vocational problems than with personal-emotional-social problems.

Tiedeman (563, p. 19) clarifies the role of the guidance counsellor in the following words: "The guidance officer, for example, is neither a teacher nor a psychiatrist, but someone who understands the importance of the skills of these people and, when necessary, coordinates their contributions to the education of a student. Through study in education and the behavioural sciences and through training in individual appraisal and counselling, the guidance worker should be prepared to counsel students, to consult with teachers, parents, educational administrators, and psychiatrists about general and individual educational problems. He should be able to make appropriate referrals and to teach psychology to teachers and students."

In the capacity of an employment officer, the main work of the counsellor in India consists of: (a) dissemination of information about manpower and jobs, (b) the placement of workers, (c) appraisal and training needs and review of existing training plans; (d) offering vocational guidance and occupational information, (e) giving general information on employment useful to employers, government agencies and the public, and (f) liaison work with various other government agencies (141).

counsellor as scientist

As psychologist, the counsellor is also expected to play the role of scientist, which is an important line of demarcation between the counselling psychologist and the guidance counsellor who counsels with other people. While the latter has the training and experience primarily in the art of helping other people and hence is liable to eschew research, the former has had training and experience in the observational-experimental method. He is motivated to discover the "what" and "how" of human behaviour, to be preoccupied with some measure of conceptualization. He may ask questions about client behaviour and even may ask for operational definitions of terms which may be brushed aside by the practitioner as axioms. While the practitioner is preoccupied with the technique and the procedure, the counselling psychologist is concerned with the development of hypotheses and the methodology of testing them. He is concerned with testable hypotheses, whether with the available techniques or when the techniques are available. Contrary to the practitioner, the scientist insists upon the necessity of maintaining an attitude of suspended judgment, and as far as possible avoiding value judgment. He is not to allow a code of ethics or moral judgement to interfere with systematic inquiry into the counselling situation.

As there are pressures upon the school counsellor to play the dual role of teacher and counsellor, the pressures upon the counsellor to play the roles of both practitioner and scientist pose a serious dilemma. Like the first two roles the second two roles are also incompatible in the interests, motivations and abilities that each demands. These incompatibilities, however, can be reconciled by having a common core of psychological training, and pedagogics for school counsellors; a common core of psychological training, and integration of theoretical-experimental subject-matter and supervised field experiences, for clinical trainees. Finally, as a matter of common interest, both seek entrée to professional employment. As a practitioner and a scientist, the counsellor can provide a unique function

not performed by such persons as the teacher or the social worker. Just as the scientist and practitioner have common interests, they also have common functions and can perform them in ways that are scientifically meaningful and socially useful, and a corollary, that the counsellor can apply scientifically derived methods in his work as practitioner (325).

counsellor's attitudes

The counsellor-client relationship to a very large extent depends on the attitudes the counsellor holds towards his speciality and the client. That is why every school of psycho-therapy has stressed so much the importance of the counsellor's attitudes. Rogers (353, p. 19) especially has the following to say about the counsellor. "In any therapy, the therapist himself is a highly important part of the human equation. What he does, the attitude he holds, his basic concept of his role, all influence therapy to a marked degree."

Success in therapy can be achieved to the extent to which a technique is genuinely in line with the attitudes of the counsellor, and to the extent to which these attitudes are adequately implemented by appropriate methods and techniques. Failure in therapy may thus be attributed to two causes as far as the counsellor is concerned: (i) the technique the counsellor used is not in line with his deeply held attitudes and (ii) the counsellor is not able to implement these attitudes adequately, which is a matter of his training.

Analytic or directive therapy based upon clinical judgment assigns the counsellor the role of an authoritative figure who holds the position of a physician and thus relegates the client to the position of a patient. The relationship between the therapist and the patient, therefore, is that of physician and patient; one diagnosing, prognosing the malady and prescribing treatment and the other following the prescribed treatment. This kind of orientation vests power in the hands of the therapist to influence the behaviour of the patient in the direction in which the therapist's judgment leads him. An authori-

tarian attitude is thus the basis of this kind of therapy, although it does not totally deny the freedom of the patient to speak out his mind.

The various attitudes which counsellors display in counselling from an external frame of reference may be described as follows (120):

- (a) *Evaluative*: The counsellor passes judgment on what the client says in terms of approval and disapproval.
- (b) *Interpretive*: The counsellor bares or exposes the causes or true reasons underlying the problem.
- (c) *Supportive or assurance*: The counsellor pacifies and reassures the client. He reduces the client's anxiety by telling him that other persons also feel the way he does.
- (d) *Probing*: The counsellor makes an inquiry to collect information about the client's trouble.
- (e) *Understanding*: The counsellor understands correctly how the client feels, how he looks upon the problem and what he says. The counsellor attempts to appraise the problem to arrive at a certain hypothesis of the client's source of trouble.

Non-analytic therapy, on the other hand, considers the therapist a counsellor and the patient a client, who are engaged in the common task of helping the client to develop self-maturity. The final decision whether the client should act in one way or the other rests upon the client. This is in conformity with the attitude held by the counsellor towards the worth and significance of the client, his right to choose and the freedom to make and implement his own decisions. The counsellor will appreciate the individual's rights if he has developed an appreciation of these rights in himself; he will respect and accept others to the extent to which he has respect for himself and has accepted himself as a person. The counsellor counselling from an internal frame of reference holds the following attitudes in counselling:

- (i) *Reflection:* The counsellor reflects the attitudes of the client by rewording them in a way that the client is able to accept his own attitudes without reacting with anxiety or hostility. Such remarks as: "You dislike somebody ordering you around, or you feel troubled that you have to obey those who you think are inferior to you."
- (ii) *Clarification:* The counsellor clarifies the attitudes and emotions towards himself and towards others. The counsellor verbalizes the repressed or those emotions which the client has been denying to his awareness. Remarks such as, "You always believed you loved her, but now you think as if you were bluffing yourself. You hate yourself for doing so" or "You sometimes like telling 'No' to the person but then you feel it might annoy him. You are afraid, it might hurt him."
- (iii) *Acceptance:* In counselling, the therapist not only makes the client feel that he is being accepted as a person or as an individual of worth and dignity, but also that his positive and negative reactions are being accepted. The emotions of love, hate, hostility, aggressiveness are also accepted, reflected and clarified by the counsellor like any other attitude or emotion. Remarks such as "You feel puzzled when I do not answer your questions direct", "You would rather feel relaxed if I answered your questions direct", or "You dislike my being less talkative."

Several of those counsellor attitudes which facilitate non-directive therapy are the following:

1. The counsellor must consider himself competent for the job.
2. The counsellor should have an attitude of self-acceptance.
3. The counsellor must be tolerant of his own errors and thus feel comfortable with his own job. An attitude of tolerance for shortcomings.

4. The counsellor must be honest and sincere, that he should never state anything contrary to fact.
5. The counsellor must be able to tolerate ambiguity in the client (35).
6. The counsellor should accept the client, his reaction patterns, and his values.
7. The counsellor must look upon the client as a person having worth and dignity.
8. The counsellor must respect the client's capacity and his right to self-determination and to choose his own values, and must avoid dominating him.
9. The counsellor must be able to withstand emotional isolation (161).

counsellor's training

Guidance and counselling presupposes the availability of trained and qualified counsellors in large numbers. Counsellors are required to work in schools, colleges and universities, employment exchanges, vocational guidance bureaux, child guidance clinics, hospitals, military establishments and in industry. Counsellors are also required for the rehabilitation of the handicapped and the mentally defective. This means we need counsellors with a variety of skills to meet the demands of different kinds of institutions and clientele. A programme of selection and training, therefore, must be tailored in consonance with the needs of the nation in its various fields of endeavour (225).

The problem of selection and training of vocational guidance counsellors was the subject of a special study by the I.L.O. The report sums up the importance of selection and training of guidance counsellors in the following words (192, p. 31): "Finally, it is worth re-emphasizing one point of crucial importance: no vocational guidance service can exist without personnel trained to perform the different functions which enter into the process. All planning and programming for vocational guidance must take this as the basic point of departure and the

necessary priority must, therefore, be given to the making of effective practical arrangements for the selection and training of vocational guidance and counselling staff."

The selection and training of counsellors is intimately related with the counsellor's role and function, which on the one end of the line is advisement, and on the other psychotherapy. The counsellor's role in its many dimensions is overlapping; sometimes the emphasis is on information-giving, sometimes on appraisal and sometimes on therapy. Hence there is a wide measure of agreement among the counselling psychologists (325, 423, 568, 593) that a vocational guidance counsellor must be able to analyse, interpret and communicate both vocational data and personality data and should have enough understanding of personality dynamics to make referrals to specialists for cases in which professional help is required. In order to accomplish this task he should possess professional skills to carry on a dialogue with the client with the objective of integrating the background information and test results to construct an approximation of the client for effective communication (231) and in situations in which the counsellor is to function as a therapist, he should be equipped with the skills of using techniques of diagnostic appraisal and conducting a counselling interview leading to decision-making on the part of the client.

Guidance and counselling being a multi-dimensional task calls for a balanced and mature outlook, a wide knowledge of the world of work and of educational and employment opportunities, a knowledge of professional techniques and above all a genuine liking for and a sympathy with people, especially young people, and understanding of the many problems which confront them in finding their way into suitable and satisfying work. It really requires an educated person to be a counsellor. The counsellor should be wise and well-adjusted and in addition well-educated so that he does not stagnate as a mere technician but exists in his own right as a creative worker (220). Other traits stressed are a high level of general culture and high moral qualities, practical experience of life and work, a capacity

for clear exposition (written and oral). Besides these traits, "patience" is a quality which is in common demand for all kinds of counselling work.

Writing about the personal qualifications of the counsellor the White House Conference Report (587, p. 66) states that "training alone is not sufficient, for with the tools which training provides the counsellor must combine sympathy and intelligence and those characteristics which enable him to work happily with people especially young people." The statement of the requirements for counsellors in New York is as follows:

Personality: The counsellor needs to have a personality which will gain and maintain the respect and confidence of young people; the ability to work with fellow teachers and to meet employers and others with whom he must make contacts, outside the school. Since the counsellor must work with all other teachers on the faculty he must be able to maintain cordial relations and a co-operative attitude. The success of the guidance programme within a given school unit will be determined by the coordination of the activities of all concerned. In all contacts with employers and others outside the school the counsellor must create a feeling of good will and understanding. In this way the counsellor can secure for pupils the consideration deserved.

Maturity: The exercise of good judgment is conditioned largely by a varied and extended experience. This may be expected from mature persons. Valuable as maturity is, counsellors should not be appointed who are not physically active and who have advanced to an age when a sympathetic attitude towards the problem of young people has been lost. It does not seem probable that these desirable qualities will be possessed by persons under twenty-five or over forty years of age.

Experience: The range of occupational experience is so great that no person may have all the desirable kinds. Since the greater number of our young people leave school at an early age and enter factory and commercial occupations, experience in these occupations will be valuable. Other experiences directly related to guidance problems are: social case work;

visiting teacher service; participating in local surveys, and report writing under directions; administrative work in the school grade in which the person expects to work; personnel work in large industrial or commercial establishments.

In recent years less emphasis is being placed on specific skills such as on the initial knowledge of careers, occupations and working conditions, because of the fast changing occupational scene and secondly, of the assumption that such knowledge can be acquired and assimilated during the training which precedes or accompanies appointment. Writing about the education and training of the counsellor. Kinzer (220, p. 14) complains that "the schools and colleges are training people for their first jobs, but are not training them for their later or their ultimate jobs. Educating for the ultimate job is the responsibility of the schools. Training for a specific job is usually the responsibility of the employing agency. The schools and colleges have a much more fundamental and permanent job, that of developing the skills necessary for any kind of training. These skills are sometimes referred to as the fundamentals, which indeed they are. The skills of communication and problem-solving and the knowledge of our cultural and historical origins are among these fundamentals."

Rogers (353 pp. 434-35) agrees on a common criteria of selecting clinical psychologists and client-centred therapists. The characteristics which, it is desirable, a person should possess are as follows:

1. Superior intellectual ability and judgment.
2. Originality, resourcefulness, and versatility.
3. "Fresh and insatiable" curiosity; "self-learner".
4. Interest in persons as individuals rather than as material for manipulation—a regard for the integrity of other persons.
5. Insight into own personality characteristics, sense of humour.
6. Sensitivity to the complexities of motivation.
7. Tolerance; "Unarrogance".

8. Ability to adopt a "therapeutic" attitude, ability to establish warm and effective relationship with others.
9. Industry; methodical work habits; ability to tolerate pressure.
10. Acceptance of responsibility.
11. Tact and co-operativeness.
12. Integrity, self-control, and stability.
13. Discriminating sense of ethical values.
14. Breadth of cultural background—"Educated man".
15. Deep interest in psychology, especially in its clinical aspects.

The insistence on having persons of a certain personality structure as suitable material for training as counsellors may be based on a wrong assumption. "It seems possible now that men and women of a wide variety of personality types can function successfully in this situation. If we give up the belief that there is one standard relationship that should be created in every case, we can relinquish along with it the requirement that the counsellor be any one type of person. Perhaps we will be closer to the truth if we assume that any personality pattern that permits rich and deep relationships with other human beings to develop, is satisfactory. Just as there is no one kind of personality essential to one's functioning as husband or wife, mother or father, lover, neighbour or friend, so there is no one kind essential to the counsellor" (568, pp. 267-68).

With respect to counselling, the fundamentals are the skills of communication (written and oral), skill in interviewing, sensitivity to human beings, knowledge of the world, regard for human hopes and values, ability to lead others to understand themselves, understanding one's self, having or at least developing a philosophy of life, and above all, intellectual honesty. These are probably among the many skills which can be learned and developed and these should form the bases of counsellor training.

The thing that does matter is one's attitudes and orientation, but this is difficult to evaluate with any precision and very

much subject to change with experience. It is, however, to be emphasized that the greatest handicaps to counselling are hostility (or in milder form, indifference) and obtuseness (or a tendency to oversimplify). The man or woman who plans to make counselling his life-work should do everything possible to avoid or eradicate these traits, and keeping himself free from them will be a continuing responsibility long after his training period is over (220).

In America there are and will always be, which is true of all other countries (192), different levels at which counsellors function. The American Psychological Association group (432) has recognized this most explicitly. The first level they call "Part-time Counsellor", including persons who are carrying on some counselling in connection with their other duties in schools, colleges, industries, churches or social agencies. The second level they call "Psychological Counsellor", who requires the equivalent of two years of graduate training and would probably carry some sort of master's degree label. The third level they call "Counsellor-Psychologist". It calls for a longer period of graduate work leading to a doctor's degree. The recommendations made for the training of counsellors include the same areas and courses. What is added for these more highly-trained specialists is a broader basis of knowledge in other fields of psychology, more practice with a variety of human problems both in and out of the normal range, a more intensive and thorough training in research methods, and preparation for supervisory activities. In many ways the preparation of Level 2 counsellors is applicable in a broader sense to Level 3.

The American Psychological Association Committee (434) has classified the essential kinds of preparation needed by the psychological counsellor under eight broad headings: "Personality Organization and Development", which includes (a) the current theories about personality, (b) the developmental patterns of perceptual, conceptual, and social behaviours, (c) the psychological characteristics of deviant personalities, and (d) the relationships of personality to cultural

determinates. The second heading is "Knowledge of Social Environment", which includes such things as information about community social agencies and the kind of help they are equipped to give, occupations and sources of information about them and in regard to them. The third heading is "Appraisal of the Individual (Theory and Practice)", including (a) measurement of individual differences, (b) the administration and interpretation of individual intelligence and aptitude tests, (c) informal methods of group and individual appraisal such as interviews, autobiographies, questionnaires, records, and observations, and (d) projective techniques. The fourth heading is "Counselling Theory and Practice", which includes both courses setting forth processes, procedures, and theories of counselling and a considerable amount of supervised experience. The fifth heading which is "Personal Therapeutic Experience", was considered to be optional. The sixth heading "Research and Statistics", which is meant to give Level 2 a clear understanding of principles essential for the interpretation of tests and evaluation of research rather than skill in using the technique and carrying out research—an area in which the differences between Level 2 and Level 3 are most marked. The seventh heading is "Professional Orientation", which includes professional ethics and an understanding of the administrative patterns within which counselling functions; and the eighth and final heading is "Diversification", which constitutes a miscellaneous category leaving room for the particular needs of individual students.

Despite rather extreme national differences, there is a certain common core in the training curricula of vocational guidance officers in the various countries. The major differences lie in the relative importance attached to the subjects in this common core, as well as in the subjects chosen to supplement them. Thus it is generally recognized that vocational guidance personnel must have at least an elementary knowledge of psychology relating to guidance and occupational information, and a more comprehensive and deep-seated knowledge of vocational guidance principles, methods and technique, with particular

emphasis on the handling of human relations and interviewing (192).

Guidance and counselling are being increasingly differentiated in their roles and functions as they begin to proliferate into their areas of operation. Guidance in its non-developmental aspects is tending more and more towards personnel selection and in its developmental aspects it is tending towards counselling psychology with stress on its clinical and psychotherapeutic aspects including occupational choice and career development. This has been contributing to the gradual classification and articulation of the task of the counsellor, and more and more agreement is being reached as to training programmes and procedures; but as yet there is no certainty. Brayfield (36) states that curriculum-making in counselling psychology is confounded and confused.

summary

The rise of the counsellor has been the phenomenon of the twentieth century and has been the product of the complexity of modern society. With the polarization of guidance and counselling services, the role of the counsellor is being increasingly differentiated on several different levels. The first level on which the role of the counsellor is being defined is the school level on which his role and functions are still that of a retreaded teacher. Although the present trend is far from combining the task of schoolmaster and counsellor in the same person, the dichotomy is still vague and confused. This is due to the reason that teaching and counselling are considered as the two limbs of education, and class-room instruction and advisement on personal matters are considered as being similar in nature. This has led to the blurring of the lines between these two specificities, and has further delayed the emergence of the counsellor as a specialist at the high school level. The modern discoveries in the field of group dynamics, the interplay of human motives and reality factors and the increasing complexity of the technological society are inexorably pointing to the need of creating

counselling as an independent profession, even at the high school level.

The second level on which the counsellor is to function is that of a practitioner, and this is the level on which his role has been differentiated from that of a teacher. He is to function in his own right as a specialist in handling educational-vocational-emotional problems, an area in which his usefulness has been thoroughly established. In his capacity as practitioner the counsellor will be handling cases referred to him as well as of those who consult with him independently. He will be acting as a resource personnel, as a catalyst and as a person who will be making referrals to other specialists. In this role the counsellor will be playing the role of a general practitioner in medi-care, either independently or on the staff of a social agency.

The third level on which the counsellor will function is that of a scientist so that the conceptualization of hypotheses and their testing may proceed in the interest of psychological science. The control and change of human behaviour which is the goal of psychotherapy, will be the chief concern of the counselling psychologist. The twin task of scientist and practitioner, however, may overlap in many situations. While the scientist will be teaching, researching and counselling on the university level, the practitioner will be doing diagnostic testing and counselling and developing the testable hypotheses and collecting data for confirming or disconfirming them.

The objectives and goals which counselling will set out to achieve will largely determine the education and training of the counsellor. The education and training of the counsellor will include the techniques of mental and diagnostic testing, techniques of counselling, knowledge of research design and methodological science as well as those subjects which concern our historical-cultural origins and are necessary for educating the whole man, so that the counsellor may be able to function as practitioner in the service of the individual and society, and as scientist in the service of the pure specificity he belongs to by his orientation.

Summary, Conclusions and Implications

need for occupational theory

Whether it is an individual or society, it must exist by work. Work has been the theme of poetry, religion and politics. Gandhiji, perhaps of all persons, realized the importance of work as a tool of control. While, on the one hand, he exhorted the people to work more in order to produce more, on the other hand, he asked them to cease work when he intended to paralyse the British administration in India. He realized quite well how important work is in the life of a nation not only to feed the people and to clothe them but also to canalize their creative energies into productive activities. Religion no less than Gandhiji stresses the importance of work in the words, "Work is worship," "Work is its own reward", meaning thereby that work is important both as means as well as ends, and for its own sake should be performed well.

In the modern society the importance of work has increased manifold. An individual's working day which consists of six to eight hours not only calls forth the use of his mental powers but also endurance for the additional time he is to commute between home and office. Work provides him with the wherewithal for living, satisfies his creative urges, fulfils his nurturance and dominance needs, and a desire for status, power and prestige. It is no wonder that the world of work is becoming exceedingly important and competitive. Work selected with an eye on the needs of the individual may turn out to be a

source of satisfaction and creativity, and if wrongly selected, may make the individual an unhappy man. It is, therefore, necessary that proper selection of occupation should become a primary focus of society.

For centuries, occupations have remained shackled to the hierarchy of caste in India. While this system brought about order and simplification in job placement, it related job selection to a single variable of birth. In other words, job placement has really remained caste placement in India. While the caste system has the advantage of fixing the position of the individual in the world of work in which preparation and specialization can begin straight away, it has several disadvantages, which are: (i) concentration of a large range of talent, the best and the worst, drawn from one caste group, (ii) negation of the democratic right of equality between men and of equality of opportunity, (iii) concentration of the instruments of power in the hands of single caste groups, resulting in the formation of watertight cultural groups without cross-fertilization of ideas and development of a national consciousness, (iv) absence of any desire to investigate scientifically the pressures which shape the occupational destiny of man in order to control these forces to shape a new society, and (v) lack of a rationale to bring the national talent to fruition and harness it to the service of the nation.

Of late, we are becoming increasingly concerned with the basic needs of a democratic society and of the changes ushered in by the application of technology and science to industry. There is now an awareness of the proper utilization of manpower, and the need of selecting the right talent and its proper use. The establishment of employment bureaux at central, state and university levels, and the stress on guidance in the schools is reflective of the attitude of seriousness on the part of the government in sorting out human material according to its need and individual merit. In this respect the army is taking a leading part in developing the instruments of selection. Industry is second to none in doing likewise although it has its own preserves of interest. A variety of tests has been deve-

loped for the counsellor's use. Some advances have also been made in job classification and information. In the current approach, emphasis, however, is on the Trait theory, namely matching the salient characteristics of man and of job, which of course is a useful approach to guidance in terms of placement psychology and utilization of national manpower scientifically.

While this approach which has been the hub of the current counselling procedures is sound in practice, it lacks sadly the undergirding of a coherent theory. It fails to account for the "why" and "how" of client behaviour. It fails to take into consideration the many forces which shape the individual's personality in terms of which an individual gravitates towards or away from a job. A theoretical formulation is necessary if we want that the guidance counsellor should guide the young towards the goal of maturity so that he is able to make a suitable occupational choice decision when required.

Tools can be borrowed, like clothes, to pass muster well enough but borrowing of theories may turn out to be a dangerous game, because we will be always collecting data to fit the theory, so will be doing nothing. The best and the safest way would be to collect the available evidence and have a straight and frank look at it, develop an indigenous theory of occupational choice, which should undergirdle the guidance and counselling practices. The theory will be crude to begin with but will undergo refinement and sophistication when more and more research data will be forthcoming. It is better to have a wrong theory than not to have any theory at all.

The world of work is becoming increasingly complex and fluid on account of the tremendous diversity of jobs, rise of new occupations and elimination of old ones, and yet a major portion of the national scene has remained unchanged and some with superficial changes if any. This means that the nature of counselling which is suitable for a child born in a sector of changing economy or culture, may not be suitable for the sector of an unchanging economy, or for a superficially changing economy. In the case of an individual, change from a heredi-

tary occupation may be advisable, while for another individual adherence to a hereditary occupation may perhaps be a wise decision.

Scientific guidance which had its fling in the United States, is now being given a successful trial in Soviet Russia. Russia is a country in which family position, parental wishes, aspirations and expectations have relatively an insignificant role to play in the career of an individual. The individual is considered the wealth of the nation and as such is to be carefully cultivated and used for the benefit of the Soviet society. This places the entire responsibility of guiding the individual through life stages on the state. This job is carefully and thoroughly done, as far as it is humanly possible. This, by no means, implies that the individual has no choice. The availability of a vast range of choice alternatives, equal opportunities for choice determination and preparation through exploratory experiences in Russia, however, makes guidance democratic in its implementation, although it does not leave the determination of the final choice with the individual or his parents. The state must ultimately decide where the individual should finally belong. In terms of the ultimate choice determination, whether the locus of final decision should rest with the individual or the state, lies the difference between guidance in a democracy and a totalitarian state. Democracy is to adhere to the principle of consent in ordering personal affairs.

In India the family has an unlimited freedom to determine what is good for the individual. This curbs the freedom of the individual to decide for himself. The freedom of the individual again is more theoretical than real. Hardly ten per cent of the people have horizons of choice alternatives or equal opportunities for making choices. Whether it is in the field of education or in the field of occupation, lack of opportunities qualitatively as well as quantitatively, makes the freedom of choice a mockery. The authoritarian structure of our society imposes further restrictions on the expression of opinion on the lower levels of our society. Guidance to be meaningful, therefore, is to learn to adjust with realities in India. What then should be

the assumptions underlying guidance in India? In the context of the conditions of present-day India, the guidance practices, in other words, will be based on the following assumptions:

assumptions underlying guidance and counselling

1. The phenomenal increase in population, slow growth of industry, hierarchy of caste, family control of business and industry, entry of women into occupations and increasing educational opportunities have made the world of work competitive and the occupational horizons limited.
2. Our cities are surrounded by countryside where education has been making inroads on the traditional values of the people. The educated village folk will offer stiff competition to the city folk for jobs, which will further heighten the job competitiveness.
3. Improvement in standards of public health has not only increased the number of healthy persons but has also increased the longevity of workers on the jobs. Since the workers will live longer, there will be a slow subsidence of the workers in the top category of jobs. This will mean not only that persons have to wait longer to get into jobs but also to wait longer to rise in the jobs they will get. The number of healthy retired men and women will increase and guidance problems will multiply.
4. Family-controlled business and industry absorb skilled manpower, but mainly the members of its own community or those related to the controlling families, leaving out much valuable managerial talent in other communities. Over and above, religious affiliations and mores also exclude individuals from certain professions, while they may facilitate the entry of some into these very professions.
5. Schools and colleges by regulating the entry of boys and girls into courses leading to high-level and low-level jobs further perpetuate social and occupational inequalities. They bring about the rise of some and the fall of others.
6. More and more persons will have to cling to their tradi-

tional occupations. Shift from traditional to non-traditional occupations will be slow and difficult.

7. Areas of occupational entry which offer the maximum opportunities, irrespective of caste, creed and community, which some people might question, are (i) Agriculture, (ii) Defence services, (iii) Government offices, (iv) Teaching, (v) Public Sector undertakings, and (vi) Unskilled trades. The largest number of openings, however, are to be sought for self-employment.

8. Young men and women are impatient and have glamorized conceptions of occupations and of the world of work. Unless they learn to tone down their occupational aspirations and to water down their expectations, they will face frustrations which can be exploited by political parties and factions as social ammunition.

9. Within the limited area of job selection, which is free from family and community influence, young men and women can be guided in the development of their careers.

10. The career pattern (the nature of occupation entered and level attained) is determined by the individual's mental ability, academic achievement, personality characteristics and by the opportunities provided by the socio-economic and technical development of the country to which the individual is exposed.

11. Individual development can be guided, partly by facilitating the process of maturation of abilities and interests, and partly by aiding the reality testing in the development of self-evaluations or the self-concept.

12. The process of development is essentially that of developing and implementing a self-concept which is a compromise process in which the self-concept is a product of the interaction of inherited aptitudes, neural and endocrine make-up, opportunities to play various roles and evaluations of the extent to which role-playing meets with the approval of superiors and equals and permitted by the policy of the state.

13. Problems will occur as a result of changes in the developing personality, changes in the environment, or on account of

the interaction between the changing personality and the static environment. Individuals will face problems in the process of development or crises in their careers which can be overcome and managed by assistance rendered by counselling in schools, colleges and universities, work plants and social agencies.

These assumptions which should undergirdle the guidance practices take note of the cultural pattern and family compulsions, the individual in terms of his characteristics and the factors which govern the world of work in India. The underlying assumptions are further considered in order to determine the nature of guidance and counselling suited to Indian conditions.

population and occupational trends

1. The growth of population is not accompanied with a proportionate growth in labour force. On the contrary, there is a gradual decline in the number of gainfully employed people. The decrease in the number of working people is due to the inability of the present industry to absorb more people on account of the slow expansion of the industrial and technical base. This will mean that unemployment and under-employment will remain a chronic social problem and will prevent more and more young persons from seeking life's satisfying goals.

2. Added to this is the improvement in the standards of public health. People are now able to survive longer and have a longer working life. Since the workers will be able to hold on the job longer, this will result in decreasing opportunities for the employment of new workers and delay in promotion and entry into high level jobs. There will be a demand for the revision of the retirement age. There will also be a demand from healthy but retired persons for opportunities of gainful employment. This will not only aggravate the unemployment problem but also result in frustration for both young and old. It will restrict both the horizontal and vertical mobility, resulting in a class-ridden as well as a caste-ridden society.

3. There is a movement of surplus population from the rural to urban areas in search of occupational opportunities. This is giving rise to overcrowding in the cities, problems of health and hygiene, of morals, and of interpersonal relationships. Another result of this movement will be the sharpening of the conflict between the outsiders and insiders for jobs, and the lowering of the demand for wages and the loss of leadership potential in the villages.

cultural pattern and occupational trends

1. The Indian nation is predominantly agrarian; eight out of every ten live in the villages, and on agriculture. Since agriculture and cottage industries are less remunerative, more and more rural people are migrating to the factory areas. The labour force, therefore, consists mostly of rural people with an utter lack of the factory discipline and values needed for an industrial society. A significant portion of the industrial labour still retains its village alignment and nurturance. The ethics of living in urban areas is lacking. The majority of the village folk join factories by abandoning their hereditary trades which are unrelated to factory production methods. In recent years, however, a more stable kind of industrial labour with the necessary orientation to factory life is coming into existence, with more forward-looking occupational aspirations for their children and spirit for trade unionism.

2. The remaining twenty per cent of the population living in cities present a scene of dynamic and deep change, but in certain aspects a superficial change which has resulted in hostility against custom and authority and sometimes into submission to authority. This ambivalence in attitude and lack of clarity in social concepts and position, engineered by a historical background of political disobedience has resulted in problems of behaviour, emotional conflicts and unrealistic occupational aspirations.

3. The authoritarian social structure which had its genesis in the feudal system and in foreign rule has given rise to an

attitude of dependence and a lack of inner controls. The lack of initiative and independent judgment has made the allocation of authority and its acceptance a difficult task.

4. The joint family and caste alignment have made the shift from one occupation to another difficult, and the rise of new trades slow.

5. The family business is geared to the notion of providing employment to family members or those connected with the family or the community even when they are not adequately qualified to hold the jobs. Company business, although more liberal in its employment practices, has preference for those who are related to the officers or have acquired the culture of the Company's mother country, although the Company working force to a large extent is Indianized. The public sector, on the other hand, has political affiliations and in a certain measure shares with the Company business the family influence in employment practices.

6. In the higher echelons of the occupational hierarchy in which family, community and political alignments do not have their toll, men possessing not so much technical skills as decision-making skills and the ability to get along with other people, are needed.

7. The Indian working force mostly consists of male workers, but more and more women are entering the labour market. On account of the spread of modern education more and more men and women are now aspiring to white-collar jobs. The entry of married and unmarried women in large numbers into the labour market, especially in factories, white-collar and technical occupations will not only oust men from certain professions as they have already done in education, clerical and accounting jobs, but will also offer a challenge to men in high-level occupations. The presence of women in large numbers in working places will influence the cultural pattern of the society, life in the work plant, practices and procedures of labour unions and their propaganda techniques.

8. The absence of married women and mothers for long hours from home will influence family life and give rise to

problems of behaviour in the children which they will carry over to the schools. With the disappearance of the *purdha* system in the Muslim communities, there will be an increase in the number of working women in the professions which will further aggravate the problem of unemployment.

9. Religion is still a dominant force in occupational choice. While it has the strongest hold on the masses especially in the villages, on old people and the minority communities, in urban areas this influence is felt differently by different groups of people. There is a general relaxation in the religious beliefs of the younger generation. Superstition, however, still has quite a hold on the people, which has made the development of scientific attitudes difficult, and the acceptance of new ideas painful.

10. Linguistic and religious minorities on account of a historical backlog of misunderstanding and envy insist on retaining their identity. The two religious minorities, the Muslims and the Christians including the Anglo-Indians, although quite Indian in their core, have the locus of their religious and cultural thought lying beyond the Indian shores. This has made their assimilation difficult, although they possess valuable occupational skills. The cultural pattern of the majority community militates against their assimilation and has made the full use of their occupational skills difficult.

11. To the two historical linguistic and religious minority communities is now added the third political vocal minority—the communists, again looking for guidance towards countries other than their own. The presence of the communists in work plants has made the development of a co-operative attitude between the employers and employees difficult.

technological changes and occupational trends

1. Changes being brought about in industry by the application of science and technology are of various kinds. i. Rationalization in industry has been resulting in the obliteration of a certain kind of skills. ii. Mechanization is reducing the number

of jobs, especially by eliminating those jobs which are associated with drudgery. Mechanization is throwing out of operation many of the handicraft industries or making many of the small-scale industries lose in competition with large-scale industry.

2. Mechanization of small-scale industries is further rendering workers jobless by changing the processes of manufacture. Automation is eroding certain categories of jobs, especially those which were formerly the work of hands. The introduction of computers in industry which has now come to stay will make many factory processes and manual jobs obsolete. It will, however, give rise to a new hierarchy of jobs connected with the feeding and servicing of computers. The largest scope for employment, therefore, will be in the field of engineering; working, programming and servicing of the computers and in sales.

3. On account of the elimination of manual jobs there will be a rise in the number of white-collar workers. This class of workers which will include educated persons will not only influence the trends in the fashion market, art and cinema but also politics. The change in fashion, taste and style of the people will render certain professions obsolete giving rise to a new range of occupations demanding a variety of new skills.

individual traits and occupations

Psychological studies of individuals have led to the discovery that individuals differ in interests, aptitudes and other personality traits. These differences are not related with race, colour, or creed. These differences qualify the individuals for a number of jobs. Similarly, job analyses on the other hand have revealed that each of the occupations requires a characteristic pattern of abilities, interests and personality traits with tolerance wide enough, however, to allow both some variety of occupations for each individual and some variety of individuals in each occupation. The idea of one to one relationship is no longer held valid for placement in jobs.

Although individual differences form the basic concept in

placement psychology they have a significance and meaning in the context of the family circumstances in which children are reared.

Families in which children are born, the socio-economic status of the family, the school which children attend and their school performance influence the students' perceptions of themselves, their aspirations and hence their occupational goals. High motivation and school achievement also have significance in relation to whether a family is more or less socially favoured. National periods of prosperity and depression also influence the nature and concept of individual differences; war and peace are additional factors influencing these differences. Individual characteristics can be developed and guided under selected environmental conditions.

family and occupations

The influence of the family on the occupational development of the children is felt in several ways. The family gives the child its first contact with the world of work both in terms of the occupation engaged in by the family members and by those engaged in by the persons known to the family. The family is also responsible for introducing the child into the world of work by serving as its first role models. The perceptions of jobs and of the concept of occupational ethics are inherited by the child from his family. A drive for achievement including a desire for status, prestige and power which the individual later is to satisfy through occupation is, in fact, a gift from the family to the child. By sending children to one school and not to the other, the family registers its likes and dislikes for certain occupations and occupational groups. By encouraging and discouraging the children from meeting children of certain occupational families, parents create in the minds of the children likes and dislikes for those professions.

It is not only the status but also the nature of the family that functions as a determinant in the choice of occupation. Children brought up in joint-families are bound to have a different per-

ception of the self and hence of occupations and have also better chances of getting financial help than children brought up in single unit families. Likewise children brought up by authoritarian parents or indulgent parents might differ in their reactions to occupations. Reactions of the children brought up in the permissive climate of the home might again differ. Parental connections also influence the occupational goals of the children. Families running their own businesses and industries want to see their children prepared for the family enterprises. Similarly, professional families or service parents want their children to inherit their professions or enter into services. This can be explained in terms of the influence the family exerts in modelling the children's self-concepts and hence occupational choices.

implications for education

There are more schools, colleges and universities as well as more students in these places than ever before in the history of the country. And yet our education is unrelated to the present occupational market and is not preparing boys and girls for the future changes. It is still fostering those skills which are not required in the job market. We are sending out a larger number of educated persons than can be absorbed in the white-collar jobs. Because of the lack of suitable openings and the lack of persons with saleable skills, more and more people with higher qualifications have to accept jobs which are meant for persons with lower qualifications. This has been resulting in the loss of efficiency and the heightening of frustration.

The present education is even unrelated to family occupations, with the result that educated persons instead of looking for openings in their family trades are hankering for white-collar jobs. Our education fosters a glamorized conception of social and occupational realities. The educational concepts are more philosophically oriented than scientifically related. Stress is put on certain philosophical foundations to the exclusion of scientific curiosity, experimentation and

inference. Our education is mostly in the hands of teachers with rural orientation, lacking in both awareness of the changing world of work and understanding of the emotional stresses on the students. In other words, education shirks realism and teachers lack both scientific temper and emotional maturity. Our education stresses specific skills like reading and writing rather than broad human understanding and the fundamentals, which include effective methods of communication and a problem-solving attitude.

To reverse this trend the educational system should be remodelled so as to take into account the existing relationship between the job and the social hierarchy. Individuals should be prepared to enter into family professions leaving the non-family controlled occupations for others. The cultural and individual bias not only should be indicated in the allocation of courses in the same school, but separate schools for the education and training of the children of people in different professional groups should be set up, viz. schools for the miners' children, who may be later prepared for mining and engineering colleges; schools for the farmers' children who will later join agricultural colleges; schools for the industrialists' children who may later join law and business management colleges etc.

The future changes to come about in industry by the application of technology will have a far-reaching influence on education. The working of computers will require the services of workers with more school education to operate them. This will require more emphasis on mathematics and languages in the school curriculum, and a longer stay in the school. For the development and extension of a technological industrial base, fundamental research is indicated which will call for emphasis on excellence in education. The present system of education is sadly lacking in this respect. The early discovery of talent, its maturation and acceleration, are the tasks which should be undertaken by education. Modern technology will need not only excellent brains but also adaptable minds.

The emotional stresses and strains on account of the increasing social and economic complexities, technological and

attitude change and maturation on the younger generation are varied and many. A permissive atmosphere in the classroom as well as acceptance and understanding of the juvenile's point of view and opinions on the part of the teachers, will create the necessary climate of personal growth and maturity of the student.

implications for guidance

Guidance is indicated on two levels: rural and urban. Leadership should be developed in rural areas and retained there for the uplift of the villages. Migration to cities of the cultural element, which has little promise at present and almost no future, should be discouraged from entering into a hostile and inhospitable urban environment. Hereditary trades, until new occupational opportunities are developed, should still be entered into by village folk.

When demanded by national exigencies migration should be preceded by a course of orientation for living in the city, of its culture, sociological pressures and psychological stresses. Only individuals who have the required mental and emotional equipment should be induced to migrate from villages to cities, and from farmlands to factories. Unrealistic or neurotic aspirations for white-collar jobs or city life should be curbed in favour of skilled trades and occupations in the villages.

In the case of the individuals eager to migrate from villages to cities, guidance will be concerned more with the attitudes than the facts, which will call for counselling more than guidance. The guidance officer will deal with such cases on the level of emotions rather than reasons, because the reasons given by the applicant for his preference for one job and not for another or for migrating to the city, are a kind of rationalization rather than the result of mature thinking and hence cannot be dealt with by advice. When it is a problem of placement and selection, the guidance officer will apply the techniques of testing and making the results of his inquiry and occupational information available to the individual. In case he meets with

resistance on the part of the applicant, it will indicate that the applicant is reacting emotionally and needs counselling of a psychological kind and perhaps more testing.

Members of the minority communities should be counselled to enter into professions in which they are likely to come across the least cultural and emotional resistance. Instead of wasting efforts on making people believe that there are no caste distinctions or communal differences in India, it may prove to be more productive to create among the people recognition, understanding and acceptance of these differences. The differences which are basic and fundamental to our culture should be utilized for the benefit of the individual and the society. Contacts between members of different castes and communities as is being done should be further fostered in schools both in villages and cities, in unskilled trades and intellectual professions, but least in skilled trades and occupations having political overtones and conflict of economic interests. The members of the two minority communities—Muslims and Christians—can best be utilized in occupations in which the religious beliefs of the majority community are at variance with the demands of those professions, for example: canning, packing, nursing, leather technology, and restaurant services.

The population and occupational trends call for more reliable data on occupational opportunities in the various spheres of national economy. The employment of the under-employed in part-time jobs calls for information on the availability of part-time jobs. This will also call for a change of attitude on the part of the under-employed and discouraging the gainfully employed people from moving from one job into another unless superior experience or professional skill warrants such movement. Stability in occupational positions will leave a greater leeway for the employment of fresh personnel in new positions. An individual seeking employment should be apprised of the shrinking job market, reduced chances of both kinds of mobility—vertical and horizontal—and stiff competition before reaching the occupational summit, which is already overcrowded, so that the individual may tailor his occupational

aspirations to suit occupational realities. Encouragement to retired persons to engage in social work on an honorarium or a stipend so that their mature experience is placed at the service of the nation, is another dimension indicated by the present population and occupational trends.

Guidance is to contain the rivalry of the sexes in occupations by making reliable information available regarding the fields of activity in which women are preferred to men such as nursing, secretarial work, teaching, social and welfare work, etc., fields in which married women are not appreciated such as pharmaceutical industry, and also fields from which they are excluded such as night shift establishments etc. In other words, the field, the enterprise, the nature of occupation, the level of occupation, the material used in manufacture, and the risks involved in the occupation are factors which are to be considered in the classification of jobs.

While enrolment of girls and boys in schools, colleges and universities has shown a tremendous rise during the post-independence period, a much larger number of school-going age child population is still outside the schools. Educational facilities are denied to these children. Prohibition of child labour is further going to increase this population. Guidance for the non-school-going children necessarily will be different from that meant for the school-going population. Guidance, therefore, should be introduced both inside and outside the schools. Guidance in order to be effective should begin early in life for the child and continue until the person dies, although guidance emphasis will change according to the needs of the individual in his different periods of development and change. In that respect guidance in the elementary school will be different from guidance in the middle school, high school, college or the university, entry to the job, for the working life and retirement. Guidance will also concern itself with the school and college leavers, the physically handicapped, the emotionally retarded, the scheduled castes and the tribes.

Another aspect with which guidance will be concerned is to develop among the students a sense of awareness and realism

about the world of work, their educational and occupational goals, selection and fostering of individual talent, acceleration and maturation of gifted children, and referrals of retarded cases for treatment and therapy. Information on financial help, scholarships, educational and training facilities for students of different age groups and castes and the handicapped, will be indicated for effective guidance. Counselling will also be required in cases where the performance is below promise or aspiration is above performance or promise. While in one case counselling will be needed for motivating the student to achieve more, in the latter it will be needed for levelling the aspiration to promise.

There is a general consensus that counselling should be made available for every individual, which to a great extent is true. But considering that such a possibility will not be within the financial ability of the country—in fact, it is still not possible even in America—counselling should be restricted to those who need it most. The other opinion is that every person does not necessarily need counselling, and therefore, professional services should be made available to those who require them most. Occupational information will be made available to every student; career conferences with students and their parents who seek help will be helpful. Generally, such students will come from middle-class and below middle-class families or those students from upper-middle-class who have not been able to develop their vocational goals. Students belonging to influential and affluent families will hardly need guidance, because their careers are formed in early childhood. Their principal need may be the help to choose the required educational course, preparation for it and later entry into a suitable college. In other words, segmental rather than global guidance will be needed for these students.

Guidance will deal with both the individuals and jobs in broad categories, i.e. several individuals for one job and several jobs for one individual. Individuals will be given information about a batch of jobs, of the field, level, enterprise and material used to which the individual characteristics,

school performance and socio-economic status qualify him. This will imply that the same batch of jobs may be suggested to a number of persons with varying individual characteristics, which will make guidance a more comprehensive concept. In other words, both individuals and occupations are to be considered in terms of the trait pattern of the individual, the cultural pattern of the family and the characteristic pattern of the work. This will have certain important implications for the guidance counsellor. He will have to explore through the counselling interview the following points:

Social class membership: This has a bearing on the professional and socio-economic status of the parents, their income, education and place and type of residence as well as ethnic background.

Home influences: This factor is connected with the aspirations parents have for the individual, the position of the individual among the siblings, influence of siblings, role of counsellee in the family, family values and counsellee's acceptance of them.

School: Academic achievement, relationship with peers and faculty, group goals and values in the school, vocational specialization, if any.

Community: Caste of the individual, caste values, counsellee's identification with community and desire to accept or reject community identification and membership.

Pressure groups: This has an implication for the group influences the individual or his parents have been exposed to in determining the occupational goals and values, and whether these influences are compatible with the counsellee's abilities, values and needs.

Self-perception: This is to be explored in terms both of self-concept and role-enactment, whether the individual perceives himself to be a leader, a follower or just an ordinary person, and whether he acted in positions of leadership, and whether his perception of himself and role is in accord with the way others perceive him.

An understanding of these points will lead the counsellor

to interpret the test data such as the counsellee's measured interests, intelligence, special aptitude and leisure-time activities in their proper perspective. This will also discourage the counsellor from picking out an occupational goal for a counsellee on the basis of a few tests, and will at the same time compel the counsellor to define his own role, in the complex and long-range process of career development, with its ultimate compromise between many different influences which emanate from home, school, heredity and reality factors.

scientific counselling

Guidance practices will ultimately reflect the conditions of the society in which it originates and which it subserves. The first and foremost problem of the Indian society today is the utilization of national manpower. This phase of guidance is to deal with the allocation of human resources to available job opportunities on the basis of individual characteristics and job requirements. In other words matching of men and jobs is to be achieved by means of the testing techniques and interviewing. This sort of counselling will integrate the individual test results, school achievement record, family background and, information of the previous job if held. This will also include the impressions of the person, collected by a preliminary interview. The placement counsellor will integrate all the available data into a counsellee-construct and then communicate the information to the client. He will curb all the irrational tendencies of the client so that a realistic appraisal of the applicant may take place. Scientific counselling is generally spread over three to four sessions over as many days. Scientific counselling will be suitable for admission to institutions, selection, training and rehabilitation of workers and worker placement.

clinical counselling

Clinical counselling is suitable for the individuals who face

problems of adjustment in schools, colleges, universities or in work plants. The use of the tools of diagnosis such as psychological and personality tests, background information including the developmental history of the client are the basis of this kind of counselling. The counsellor will integrate the information again into a kind of client-construct, for developing a hypothesis as a basis for interacting with the client. The client-counsellor contact can take place in a directive or non-directive counselling interview. Referrals to specialists are made on the basis of the results of the clinical testing. Students suffering from speech disabilities, reading difficulties, retardation in studies and behaviour problems, are the suitable subjects to be dealt with by clinical counselling and subsequent therapy. In order to arrive at a valid judgment the use of multiple tests suitable for the age-group and the nature of the problem need to be used. Results should be checked and rechecked before deciding the case for treatment and referral. The counselling psychologist will avoid the temptation of assisting the client by developing a therapeutic relationship with him. It is unsafe for an inexperienced counsellor to handle cases without proper supervision. He may ruin the lives of his clients by disturbing their emotional adjustment.

eclectic counselling

Eclectic counselling will focus its attention on the client and vary its tools and methods to suit the client's needs and circumstances. This kind of counselling is generally suitable for vocational choice development in which the guidance counsellor or the counselee himself selects testing techniques, the counsellor administers them and communicates the information to the client in a counselling interview, and if necessary administers another series of tests, and again resorts to counselling. Eclectic counselling may begin with non-directive or directive counselling alternatively or testing whichever is considered useful and follow a cyclic course of counselling and testing. Considering that Indian children are mostly brought

up in authoritarian and joint families, and in a society which is still status-conscious, directive counselling may have better chances of success on the high school level and non-directive counselling on the university level. It will, however, be determined on the basis of the background information of the client as to what kind of counselling will achieve better results.

While some students will require individualized counselling, there can also be group counselling for boys and girls who have problems of more or less the same type. Play therapy for pre-school children will be indicated as a tool of treatment in behaviour problems. Psycho-dramatics is another therapeutic tool which can be pressed into service for the college students and adults. There will be situations in which an eclectic counsellor will also be called upon to use a combination of tools or techniques or to alternate his techniques.

Eclectic counselling will include testing both diagnostic and motivational, giving occupational information, and the use of therapeutic techniques whenever the needs of the student warrant them. Sometimes the emphasis will be on placement, sometimes on selection, sometimes motivational, sometimes diagnostic and curative and sometimes on control or discipline, as well as referral. Counselling will be concerned with the "being" of the client and work towards "becoming" which may happen in one or more counselling sessions, finally leading to an awareness of the self and the world of work. Emphasis in counselling will be sometimes on the individual, sometimes on his problems and sometimes on the needs of the society which the individual is ultimately to serve.

behaviour counselling

Behaviour counselling is geared to the notion that human behaviour is learned and, therefore, can be unlearned and a new repertoire of behaviour can be learned if the environment is suitably amended to encourage new learning. Behaviour therapy is environmental in as much as it is not the individual who is counselled but it is the environment that is reorganized

to eliminate undesirable responses and to elicit desirable responses from the client. This therapy is more suitable with the clients who have behaviour disorders. It calls for stress on positive reinforcement in the form of approval, assurance and reward and sometimes negative reinforcement in the form of disapproval, and punishment such as the withdrawal of a privilege. Phased suspension from school or work or calculated corporal punishment in cases of violence and destruction may also be included in behaviour therapy.

developmental counselling

The different kinds of counselling, namely scientific, clinical, and eclectic can approximately be called segmental or prescriptive counselling, because they are administered as shot-gun methods of dealing with the client problems. In fact an integrated programme aiming at the development of a purposing individual should be the aim of guidance. Developmental counselling will help the individual through his life stages, namely infancy, childhood, adolescence, post-adolescence, adulthood and old age. The developmental counselling which begins at an early age will assist the individual in developing purposeful goals—educational and vocational—towards which he will proceed. This kind of counselling is also called counsell-ing for career-development or the development of self-identity.

The developmental concept of counselling is related to the development of the total personality of the individual, and will take into consideration individual differences, cultural and family background, academic achievements and societal conditions, and will make use of the testing techniques and therapy when a problem is encountered. The use of tests in developmental counselling will be both diagnostic, reflective and motivational depending on the nature of help the individual students will need. The individual student will measure his achievement on the basis of the test results. Testing will be a sort of looking-glass in which the student will see his real image in order to bring his imaginary image in line with the

real one or vice versa and thus be able to proceed to prepare for a definite career.

the counsellor's dilemma

Emphasis in counselling sometimes on the societal needs and sometimes on the needs of the individual brings into focus the dilemma of the counsellor whether he should, in case of a tie between the needs of the individual and those of the society, attend to the needs of the individual or of the society. For example: whether he will advise a young man to shift from the village to the city in search of a career; a member of a minority community to apply for a post of an executive in industry dominated by majority community business interests, a boy of average intelligence but highly motivated to aspire to an engineering college, a boy of a less favoured family to aspire to a medical education, the only son of affluent parents to prepare for a career in the armed forces; whether he will advise an industrial magnate's son having low mental equipment aspiring to a science career, to opt out for a course in fine arts; whether he will encourage bright boys to aspire to high level jobs when they are bereft of family influence and when occupational horizons are so miserably shrunken in India, or whether he should counsel the individual to act in contravention of his parental wishes?

Many contradictions which are inherent in our social realities and political affiliations such as (i) lack of individual freedom to choose, (ii) lack of choice alternatives, and (iii) lack of equal opportunities for making a choice on the one hand, and adherence to the ideal of a socialistic pattern of society on the other, will pose other problems for the counsellor. Will it not be appropriate for the counsellor to encourage the individuals to agitate against the social inequalities and thus become an instrument of social change? To the extent to which the counsellor is able to resolve these contradictions in his own personality, to that extent will he be honest to himself and allow the client to make his own decision. An unresolved

contradiction is bound to peer out through the contact of the counsellor with the client and influence his relationship and outcome of counselling. The least that is expected of the counsellor is to develop an understanding and acceptance of these contradictions, which may lead to some kind of resolution and clarity of action in the role that the counsellor is called upon to play in the counselling interview.

In the absence of a national programme of welfare and social security, the counsellor's dilemma is heightened. He has increasingly to help the individual to make compromises with social factors. The stress in counselling, therefore, will mainly be on adjustment and compromise instead of creativity and independence. Even when a programme of national social security and welfare will be there, the choice between supporting the right of the individual to choose and the right of the state to determine a choice for the individual will pose a dilemma for the counsellor. With the increase in occupational opportunities, equal opportunities to choose from, and the equal right of all individuals to choose, the conflict between the interest of the individual and that of the state will shift from the home to the school. This will bring into conflict the counsellor's responsibility and parental wishes. The understanding of the counsellor's own attitudes is also necessary in determining whether the kind of counselling he will give should be authoritarian or non-authoritarian.

counsellor's role

The role of the counsellor will be determined by the nature of the guidance programme, the agency he will work for and finally by his own philosophy of life and orientation.

In an employment bureau, in the capacity of placement officer, the counsellor's job will mainly be of matching men with jobs by means of the testing techniques. He will do the screening of the applicants and recommending them for the available training schemes and programmes. He will curb the irrational tendencies and unrealistic aspirations of the

client so that a realistic appraisal of the individual's capabilities and the occupational market is made.

In a factory or a business house, the counsellor will function as personnel officer, and will deal with the problems of selection and training of workers. He will also be responsible for interpersonal relationships and discipline. In order to perform all these tasks he will make use of the testing techniques, construct tests to suit the needs of the work plant, and counsel workers both for placement and for problems of interpersonal relationships. The counsellor's conflict whether he should serve the interests of the client or those of the management will come into play, which he alone must resolve.

In a hospital or a child guidance clinic the counsellor plays the role of a clinician, making a diagnosis of the client's problem and prognosis of his recovery. It is a situation in which the counsellor is free from a dilemma, because he is employed to perform a therapeutic task which concerns the welfare of the individual client only. As a clinical psychologist he will use the tools of mental and diagnostic testing, the results of which will form the basis of the referral either to a psychiatrist or a counselling psychologist. Both the functions of diagnostic testing and counselling may be executed by one man.

It is in schools that the counsellor is to perform a variety of tasks and roles. He is to work with the students, teachers, the principal and is to interact with employment agencies and industrial concerns. In his multifarious activities, the school counsellor is to act with various kinds of students who will include low and high achievers, the handicapped, the misbehaved and the emotionally disturbed. He will act as catalyst to make the teachers aware of the developmental needs of the students, of their problems in the classroom and their curriculum requirements. He will assist the principal in handling problem cases. In the performance of his tasks, the school counsellor will function as the clinical psychologist for making referrals, as the placement counsellor for determining the placement of the school leavers and as the behaviour therapist in dealing with discipline problems.

In a school situation, guidance emphasis will, however, be on development, assisting students in developing purposes and goals in life to pursue. In the developmental task, the counsellor is to use tools of individual appraisal and diagnosis, do counselling and give information. He is also to reorganize the school environment sometimes by shifting the student from one class to another and sometimes by withholding privileges. In whatever he does, he is to be careful lest he builds up a reputation for a harsh regime or an indulgent father-surrogate who will do whatever the student or the guardian will suggest. The counsellor will function in co-operation with the school staff, the principal and the parents. The counsellor, therefore, is to have an awareness of the teachers' problems and the administrative responsibilities of the principal. In this respect the counsellor will define his own role to the school staff as well as check other people's perceptions of his own role.

counsellor's training

The counsellor in order to function in the context of the present-day realities is to examine, first of all, his own attitudes towards the prevalent economic, social, and educational inequalities. He is to develop an awareness of the cultural history, anthropological differences, and sociological pressures which are present in our society. He is also to acquire an understanding of the industrial changes, technological advances and occupational trends in the world of work with its practices, procedures and pressures. He is also to be cognizant of human impatience with slow change, frustration which awaits most Indian young men seeking employment and disappointment at not getting the type of jobs they aspire to or getting the jobs that do not challenge their imagination or suit their talent or qualifications. He is to take into consideration the aspirations of the parents, their financial position and their frustration when informed that their children are good-for-nothings and just fit to be truck drivers.

There are many other things which the counsellor ought to know in order to render professional services to his clients. He is to possess information of referral agencies such as social service agencies, employment bureaux, child guidance and vocational guidance clinics, psychiatric and health clinics, charitable trusts, Indian and foreign institutions of higher learning, scholarship schemes for Indian and foreign schools, colleges and universities and privileges for caste membership, information of occupational opportunities both at state and central levels, industries and their training programmes. Information about occupational, educational and scholarship opportunities, however, can be collected when the counsellor is in employment.

In order to perform a variety of complex jobs, the counsellor must possess skills in the use of testing tools and interviewing techniques. Over and above he must develop an understanding of the psychological factors connected with the development and maturation of the individual. All these will call for courses in cultural history, anthropology, sociology and economics. A course in teaching, preferably teaching experience to make the counsellor aware of the pedagogic problems teachers have to encounter in the class-room, is also indicated. The counsellor's training must also include courses in personality psychology, counselling psychology, and in statistics and research methodology, so that he is able to develop testable hypotheses and do research in the counselling process and its outcomes.

The training of the counsellor, in fact, is the training of his attitudes. He must be trained in a manner so as to be capable of developing a philosophy of life that will guide him in his relationship with other people. The counsellor should be a person of broad sympathies, deep human understanding and universal culture. In short, the training of the counsellor should aim at making him an educated man, flexible enough to make quick adjustments, and understanding enough to make people feel at ease when they meet him.

organization of guidance services

The organization of Guidance and Counselling services will consider the present-day conditions in our society.

Guidance services will be organized on two levels: rural guidance services and urban guidance services.

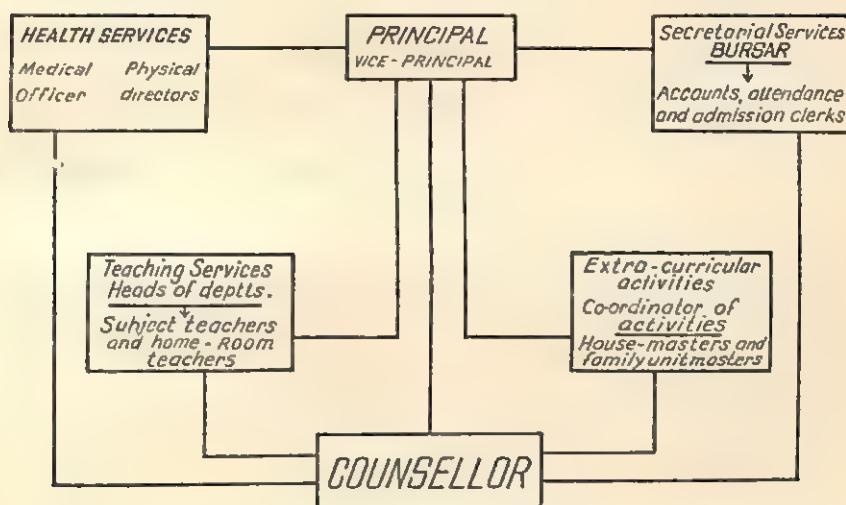
Guidance services will be organized both at the level of the centre and the states, in schools, colleges and universities. There will also be voluntary services organized on the community basis. There should be effective co-ordination between these services. While these services will render guidance and counselling to individual clients they will also do research in problems of guidance and counselling.

On the school level, guidance emphasis will be on development. A programme of guidance geared to the aim of personality development will need the co-operation of parents, teachers, industry, and voluntary organizations. The counsellor will be at the hub of the school guidance programme.

In the absence of a national network of guidance programmes, schools have to muster their own resources to render guidance services to their students. A plan of the pupil personnel services organized by a school in Calcutta might serve as a useful starting point for other schools.

This plan outlines a fourfold division of pupil personnel services: (i) Health services, consisting of medical officer and physical directors, responsible for the physical activities and health problems of the students, (ii) teaching services, consisting of the teaching faculty including home-room teachers responsible for the academic programmes of the students (each department of Languages, Mathematics, Science, Social Sciences and Arts has a Head who is to plan and supervise the work of the teachers of that department); (iii) department of extracurricular activities has a co-ordinator of activities who in co-operation with eight senior housemasters (one house-

A Plan of
Pupil Personnel Services



master for each house) plans extracurricular activities such as debates, dramatics, recitation, excursions, picnics and visits to factories and industries. Each Senior housemaster has a team of eight family unit masters. The school having 1400 students is divided into eight houses and each house into eight family units, i.e. there is a total of 64 family units. Each family unit-in-charge is to maintain the cumulative record for each member of the family, to be supervised by the senior housemaster, and finally by the Co-ordinator, the over-all-in-charge of the house system, and the fourth and final division consisting of the bursar and his assistants to maintain students' attendance, admission and achievement records besides fee accounts.

The school counsellor acts as a liaison between these departments. Behaviour and educational problems are referred to the counsellor who functions as a specialist. The counsellor holds conferences with the teachers, students and when necessary with the parents and does the follow-up. Since the school is one of the selective schools in Calcutta, it does not have the problem of school leavers. Cent per cent students of the higher

secondary class migrate to colleges. Since the boys come from upper and upper-middle-class families, the parents play a decisive role in the determination of the courses and occupational choices. In the few cases in which studies or the occupational choice determination pose problems the counsellor undertakes eclectic counselling.

This guidance model may not turn out to be suitable for the schools recruiting students from less favoured families and having a variety of talents, skills and aspirations. For such schools guidance services will be required to be built on the bases of (i) selecting and fostering talent, (ii) testing and counselling, (iii) giving information on colleges, financial aids, occupations and assistance for placement of the school leavers. The counsellor will have to deal with a variety of problems for which he will have to seek the co-operation of the parents and mobilize the community resources.

research perspectives

It is necessary for theory building that a massive programme of research in guidance and counselling should be a continuing concern of the Government. While the establishing of employment bureaux, publication of occupational information, National job classification and standardization of tests of individual appraisal are steps in the right direction, the employment bureaux and the universities should engage in research to establish the relationship between the rate and nature of social change and the occupational pattern, socio-economic factors and occupation, traditional culture and occupations and also between the family influence and the modelling of individual occupational preferences.

The current emphasis on perfecting the techniques of worker-selection may indicate our anxiety to find out the valid and reliable methods of allocating the available manpower more rationally and realistically, a legitimate function for any country to assume. But the other aspects of guidance, namely discovering talent in the young and guiding the development

of their careers, should also come in for our attention. In this task the family and its culture can be both a hindrance and a help. Whether the development of careers should take place along or against the traditional lines, and if deviation is to take place, to what extent, are the questions whose answers would ultimately influence the role of the counsellor in the school guidance programme.

While emphasis has been on acturial prediction in guidance, the new leads in the field call for a vigorous exploration. "Career patterns" is a field in which research in India has not even begun. In order to supplement our knowledge in trait psychology and acturial methods, we must begin with the exploration of the theory of occupational patterns which characterize our culture. Vertically the occupational lives of a random sample of urban children should be studied over a period of eighteen years or until they are settled in vocations; horizontally the occupational pattern of an entire population of a village near an industrial centre should become the focus of research. With a frame of reference so broadened and revitalized on account of the inclusion of the theory of career pattern in vocational psychology, we may as well begin to think of vocational guidance in terms of career development rather than in terms of job induction.

The importance of the family in occupational development is no longer a debatable thing. Child development can be guided and accelerated along the predetermined lines. Parents will like to learn more about how they can assist their children in developing their careers or prepare them for the careers they want to select for them. Guidance in order to accomplish this task is to find the ways and means of controlling human behaviour and the process of maturation.

The rise of the industrial proletariat is a new addition to the labour working in agriculture and allied activities and the labour working in mines and quarrying. The appearance of the industrial labour in its increasing complex will influence not only the social life in the factory and the city but also politics. But more important will be its influence in terms of a

factory generation which the workers will rear in factory areas. The generation of boys and girls growing up under the influence of the machines and under the care of parents whose lives are governed by the discipline and rigours of factory life are going to be different from the generation of boys and girls who are reared on farms and around the mines. The self-concepts, aptitudes, skills, ambitions and modes of thinking of the factory generation will be conditioned by the way of life the factory creates for them. Studies in measuring these differences and changes both qualitatively and quantitatively, in terms of parents and children, as well in terms of the generation growing up in cities, on farms, plantations, mines and around factories should be undertaken in order to determine the type of guidance boys and girls in different environments will require.

Guidance and counselling in order to be meaningful in the context of Indian conditions must recognize economic, caste, religious, linguistic, communal and individual differences and use them as tools for developing professional personalities. Studies should be instituted to determine the influence of these factors on choice determination for broadening the frontiers of guidance and counselling, and for our knowledge of the occupational dynamics and excellence in achievement.

The other area of relevance for research is counselling, which is the heart of all guidance practices. For the present, several techniques and theories of counselling are competing for prominence and are being integrated into a single frame of Eclectic counselling. Whether we should accept one of them or depend on eclecticism will ultimately depend on the theory of personality which takes into account our own historical cultural origins and socialization practices. Research in the field of personality development, therefore, is indicated for widening the scope of counselling.

There is still another area which needs investigating. This area of research concerns the "dialogue" which is at the core of all kinds of counselling. The techniques of communication are the techniques of therapy. What kind of dialogue will most facilitate communication between the client and the therapist

is a problem that concerns every counselling psychologist. This will also involve the question of what kind of counsellor is most effective in communicating with the client, and what should be the nature of counsellor-client relationship in order to further therapy.

The acceptance of the fourteen-language formula for competitive examinations and use of regional languages as the teaching medium at school, college and university levels has posed a new peril for the testing movement in India. Tests standardized in one linguistic group will not be suitable for another linguistic group; and even if equivalent translations are made their validity will be questionable. The answer to this problem may lie in preparing non-verbal tests, which have never been considered very reliable for diagnostic purposes. It is, however, a challenge to the psychologists to prepare valid and reliable non-verbal tests based upon a national norm.

The objectives of research will be best served if we take the cues from the researches carried out in other countries. Science knows no geographical barriers, but cultural components do have an important role to play in determining the depth and direction of research, especially in the field of social sciences. The variables with which we have to experiment are culturally determined, and therefore are different from the variables with which foreign studies are concerned. We will need new research models, mathematical and statistical formulas to test the derived hypotheses. It is another dimension in which research effort is indicated.

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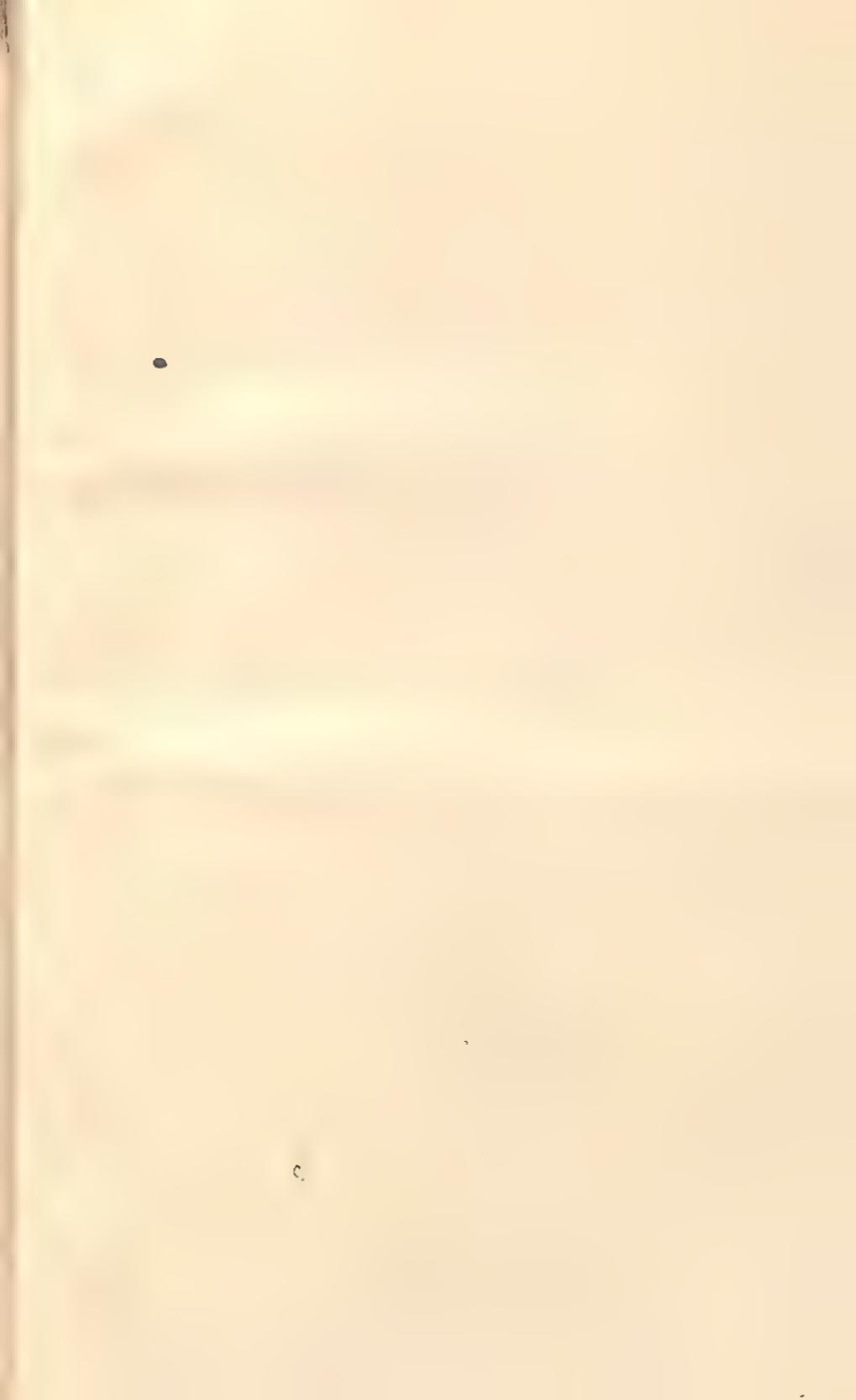
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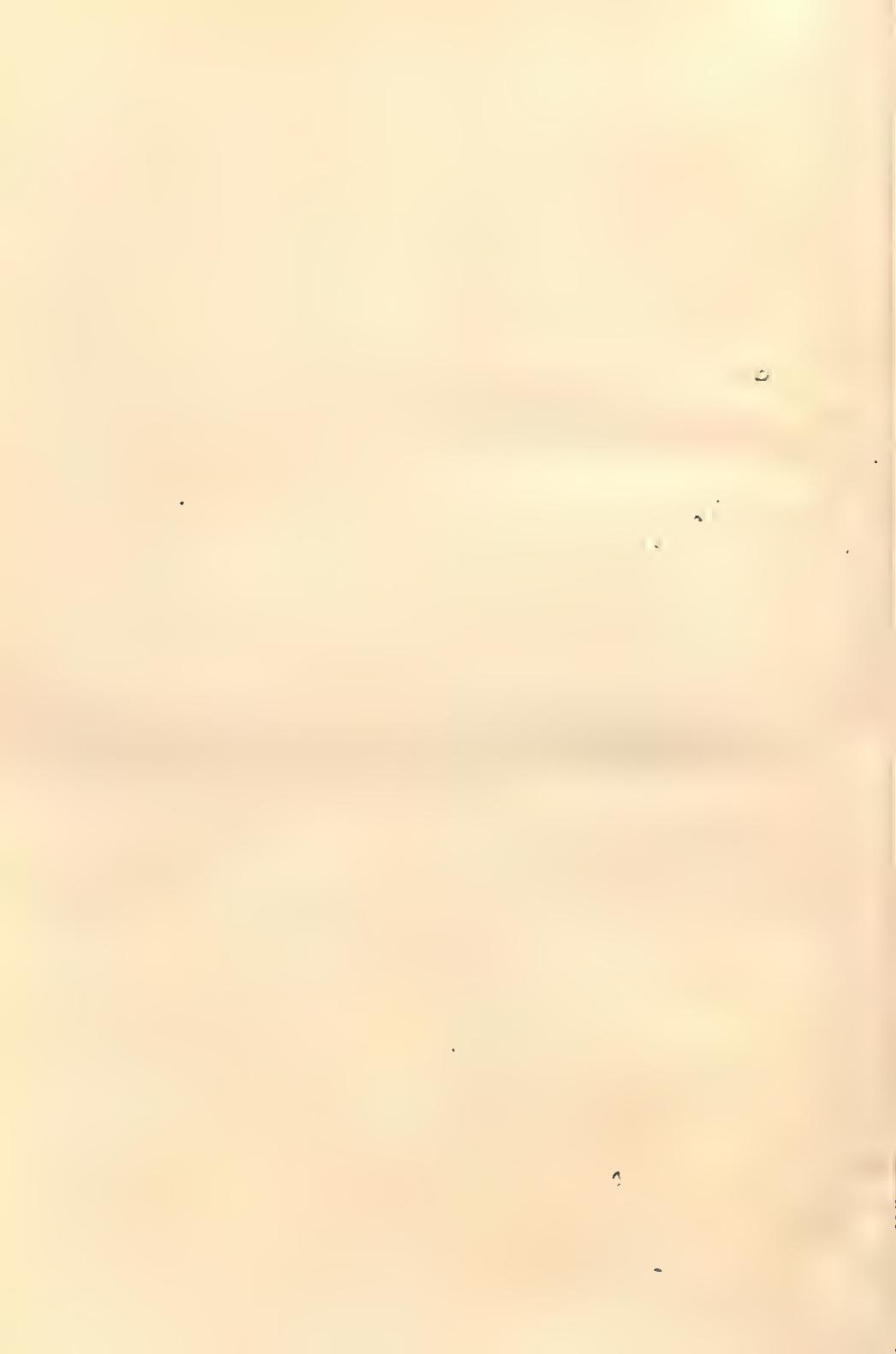
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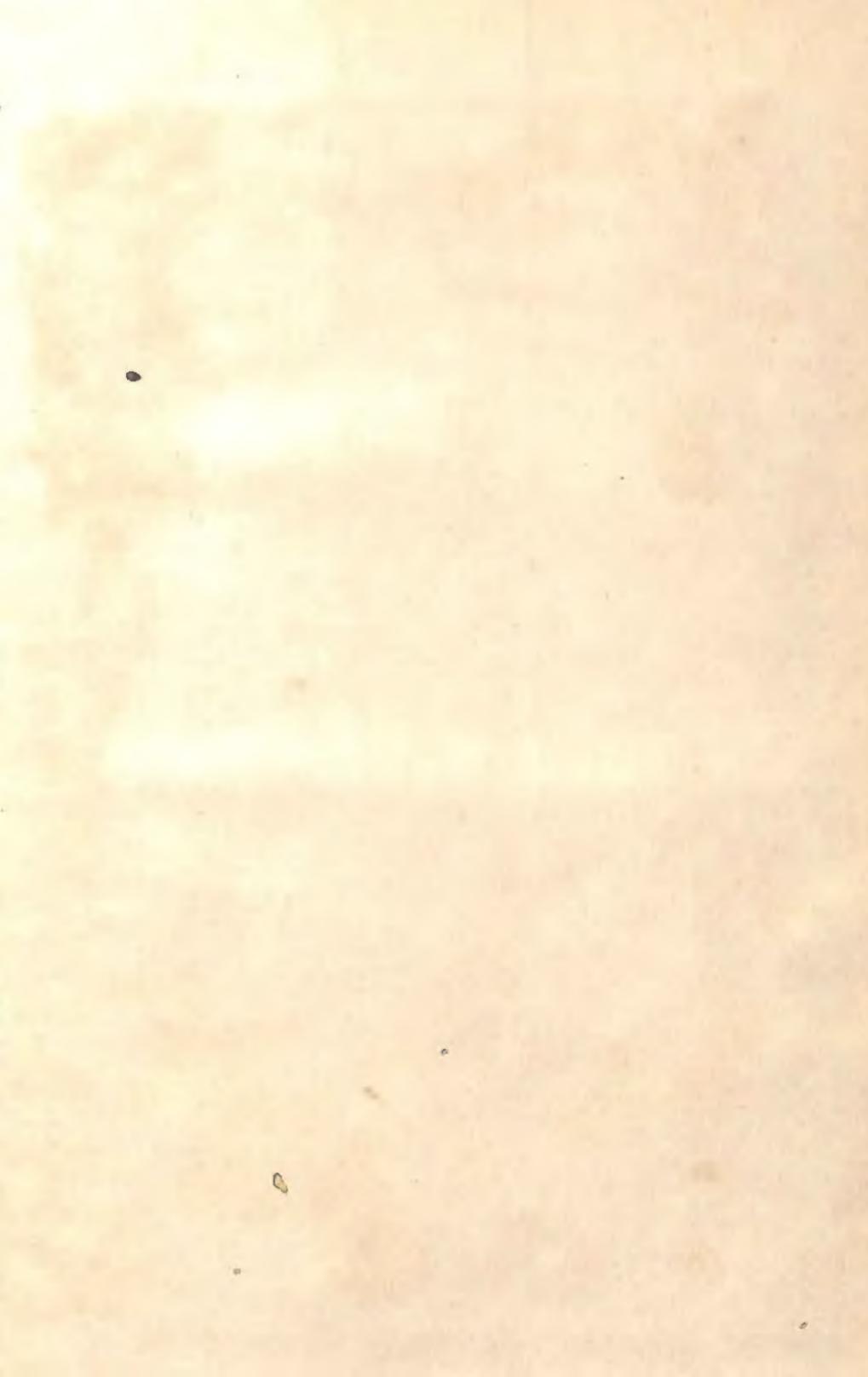
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